




MILLS COLLEGE
LIBRARY







Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023

THE WORKS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL EDITION

PREPARED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION
HERMANN HAGEDORN, EDITOR

THIS EDITION, PRINTED FROM TYPE WHICH HAS
BEEN DISTRIBUTED, IS STRICTLY LIMITED TO ONE
THOUSAND AND FIFTY SETS, OF WHICH ONE THOUSAND
ARE FOR SALE AND FIFTY ARE FOR PRESENTATION

THIS IS NO. 654

THE WORKS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

MEMORIAL EDITION

VOLUME XX



THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN CHICAGO, 1916

AMERICA
AND THE WORLD WAR

FEAR GOD
AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

BY
THEODORE ROOSEVELT



ALL
COPIES
WITHDRAWN

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
MCMXXV

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART has been included in this edition by special
arrangement with George H. Doran Company

Copyright, 1916, by George H. Doran Company
Copyright, 1915, 1925, by Charles Scribner's Sons

Printed in the United States of America

2218
2515



973.911
N7813A2
1229

77468

CONTENTS

VOLUME XX

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| ROOSEVELT AND THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS JOHN GRIER HIBBEN | ix |
| FOREWORD THEODORE ROOSEVELT | xix |
| AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR | 1 |
| FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART | 217 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE | 534 |

ROOSEVELT AND THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN

THIS volume of Colonel Roosevelt's papers and addresses on America and the World War was written at a time when our country was in the throes of indecision; the way of duty seemed to many, indeed to the majority of our countrymen, obscure. There was need of a prophet to reveal this way in clear and rousing words, one who possessed not only knowledge of our own history and that of international relationships, powers of sane and logical reasoning and an enlightened conscience, but also a penetrating imagination which could see far into the future, because grasping so fundamentally the significance of the events of the past and of the present. Colonel Roosevelt had the rare gift of facing the facts of life honestly, and by a few clear and courageous words he was able to brush aside the sophistries of the hour.

It was perhaps natural that our people in America should have dwelt upon the security of their isolation, far removed from the scene of the great European tragedy, and that they should have hesitated to enter upon a course which would involve our country in the World War. The propaganda of pacifism consequently made great headway and seemed at one time to give definite form and purpose to public opinion.

Colonel Roosevelt's arraignment of the pacifists (which is the real topic of every article in this volume)

ROOSEVELT AND THE

strikes at the foundations of their position; his argument is based upon the fundamental principle that peace cannot and should not be the sole consideration of national policy, for peace may be bought at too high a price. He always insists that we must keep clearly before our minds "the peace of righteousness," and that where the fundamental ideas of all political and social life are concerned, the ideas of righteousness, of justice, and of the rights of man, it is the paramount duty of a nation to throw all of its resources into the one supreme purpose of defending and safeguarding these principles; and as a corollary to the proposition that a nation must defend the principles upon which its very integrity is based, there must be a wise policy of adequate preparedness.

During the period when Colonel Roosevelt was writing these articles, the entrance of the United States into the World War seemed to him and to many others inevitable, and in his opinion it was the height of folly not to make ready in ample time. The gospel of preparedness which he preached was always distinctly stated by him as preparedness against war; not that preparedness would prevent war absolutely, but that it would tend to prevent war in general. For the particular circumstances of our national relation to world affairs in 1916 and 1917, it was, however, a preparedness primarily to enter a contest in which great moral issues of civilization were at stake.

I have always regarded Colonel Roosevelt as the ideal pacifist. Others have called themselves by this name, but he pre-eminently was entitled to it. The word pacifist has fallen into ill repute, but the meaning of the word is admirable; its application is deplorable. I think of Colonel Roosevelt as a pacifist in this sense,

PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

that however far removed might be the ultimate end which he hoped to realize, that end was always peace—peace, however, with honor, the peace of righteousness. Colonel Roosevelt could never be regarded by the wildest flight of the imagination as a militarist. He hated war, he suffered himself untold agony, personal bereavement, and sorrow because of the war. At the beginning of Chapter XII Colonel Roosevelt says: “ ‘Blessed are the peacemakers,’ not merely the peace lovers; for action is what makes thought operative and valuable. Above all, the peace prattlers are in no way blessed.”

It was my privilege to be associated intimately with Colonel Roosevelt during the years just before and after we entered the World War. We were drawn together because of our common interest in the Plattsburg movement. General Wood as early as 1913 asked a number of the college presidents to form an advisory committee to act with him in organizing summer training-camps for the young men of our country. As chairman of that committee I was brought into intimate contact with Colonel Roosevelt and General Wood. Colonel Roosevelt was heart and soul for this plan of summer training-camps. At the beginning of 1913 in the camp at Gettysburg, in 1914 at Burlington, Vt., and the following years at Plattsburg, his sympathetic cooperation and enthusiasm gave confidence to all who were working toward the end of preparedness. After our entrance in the war Colonel Roosevelt expressed to me many times his opinion that the Plattsburg training had prepared such a large body of young men for immediate commissions that we were able to organize our army more quickly and more efficiently for the tremendous task before us. These young men not only were in readiness to serve the Expeditionary Forces abroad

ROOSEVELT AND THE

but they went into various camps of our country to act as instructors in the hour of emergency. Colonel Roosevelt's own sons were among the leading spirits not only of the Plattsburg training-camp itself but were a part of the force and influence which organized it, and they represented their father in the camp as well as abroad.

While presenting his masterly defense of the policy of preparedness Colonel Roosevelt expresses himself again and again in these articles concerning the deplorable state of international suspicion, envy, and hate which made preparedness a necessity. While contending that under the present international relations every self-respecting government must carefully prepare to meet the possibility of war, nevertheless he insists with all the power of his convictions that the present-day international relations must be changed, that with increasing knowledge of the present and a more far-reaching vision of the future, national enmities must give way to a spirit of concord and co-operation. In the light of present discussions it is very interesting to note that again and again he returns in these papers to the thought of some international league of peace. At the time of the writing of these articles the present League of Nations had not yet come into existence. Whether Colonel Roosevelt were he alive would give his adherence to the League in its present organization I would not dare to conjecture for fear that I might mistake his attitude, but that he believed most profoundly in international co-operation for the purpose of preventing the injustice which gives birth to war there is no shadow of a doubt. In his article on the "Peace of Righteousness" he quotes the late Viscount Bryce as follows:

"Since these articles of mine were written and published, I am glad to see that James Bryce, a lifelong ad-

PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

vocate of peace and the staunchest possible friend of the United States, has taken precisely the position herein taken. He dwells, as I have dwelt, upon the absolute need of protecting small states that behave themselves, from absorption in great military empires. He insists, as I have insisted, upon the need of the reduction of armaments, the quenching of the baleful spirit of militarism, and the admission of the peoples everywhere to a fuller share in the control of foreign policy—all to be accomplished by some kind of international league of peace. He adds, however, as the culminating and most important portion of his article:

“‘But no scheme for preventing future wars will have any chance of success unless it rests upon the assurance that the states which enter it will loyally and steadfastly abide by it and that each and all of them will join in coercing by their overwhelming united strength any state which may disregard the obligations it has undertaken.’

“This is almost exactly what I have said. Indeed, it is almost word for word what I have said—an agreement which is all the more striking because when he wrote it Lord Bryce could not have known what I had written. We must insist on righteousness first and foremost. We must strive for peace always; but we must never hesitate to put righteousness above peace. In order to do this, we must put force back of righteousness, for, as the world now is, national righteousness without force back of it speedily becomes a matter of derision. To the doctrine that might makes right, it is utterly useless to oppose the doctrine of right unbacked by might.”

It will be seen in this quotation that Colonel Roosevelt felt that the essential element in the efficiency of

PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

a league of nations is the willingness and the ability of the nations concerned to use force against aggressive nationalism of the unrighteous sort.

In his article on "Utopia or Hell?" he expresses this idea even more emphatically:

"My proposal is that the efficient civilized nations—those that are efficient in war as well as in peace—shall join in a world league for the peace of righteousness. This means that they shall by solemn covenant agree as to their respective rights which shall not be questioned; that they shall agree that all other questions arising between them shall be submitted to a court of arbitration; and that they shall also agree—and here comes the vital and essential point of the whole system—to act with the combined military strength of all of them against any recalcitrant nation, against any nation which transgresses at the expense of any other nation the rights which it is agreed shall not be questioned, or which on arbitrable matters refuses to submit to the decree of the arbitral court."

As we read these quotations, taken from articles written in the early days of the World War, we realize what an incalculable value it would be to our nation at this time if we could hear the ringing tones of the voice that is stilled and could feel the old confidence and courage in hailing him once again as our leader in the way of international righteousness and enduring peace. Though dead he yet speaketh to the great mass of our American citizens who sacredly guard his memory as the most precious of our national possessions.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

PRAYER FOR PEACE

Now these were visions in the night of war:

I prayed for peace; God, answering my prayer,
Sent down a grievous plague on humankind,
A black and tumorous plague that softly slew
Till nations and their armies were no more—

And there was perfect peace . . .

But I awoke, wroth with high God and prayer.

I prayed for peace; God, answering my prayer,
Decreed the Truce of Life:—Wings in the sky
Fluttered and fell; the quick, bright ocean things
Sank to the ooze; the footprints in the woods
Vanished; the freed brute from the abattoir
Starved on green pastures; and within the blood
The death-work at the root of living ceased;
And men gnawed clods and stones, blasphemed and died—

And there was perfect peace . . .

But I awoke, wroth with high God and prayer.

I prayed for peace; God, answering my prayer,
Bowed the free neck beneath a yoke of steel,
Dumbed the free voice that springs in lyric speech,
Killed the free art that glows on all mankind,
And made one iron nation lord of earth,
Which in the monstrous matrix of its will
Moulded a spawn of slaves. There was One Might—

And there was perfect peace . . .

But I awoke, wroth with high God and prayer.

I prayed for peace; God, answering my prayer,
Palsied all flesh with bitter fear of death.
The shuddering slayers fled to town and field
Beset with carrion visions, foul decay,
And sickening taints of air that made the earth
One charnel of the shrivelled lines of war.

PRAYER FOR PEACE

And through all flesh that omnipresent fear
Became the strangling fingers of a hand
That choked aspiring thought and brave belief
And love of loveliness and selfless deed
Till flesh was all, flesh wallowing, styed in fear,
In festering fear that stank beyond the stars—

And there was perfect peace . . .
But I awoke, wroth with high God and prayer.

I prayed for peace; God, answering my prayer,
Spake very softly of forgotten things,
Spake very softly old remembered words
Sweet as young starlight. Rose to heaven again
The mystic challenge of the Nazarene,
That deathless affirmation:—Man in God
And God in man willing the God to be . . .
And there was war and peace, and peace and war,
Full year and lean, joy, anguish, life and death,
Doing their work on the evolving soul,
The soul of man in God and God in man.
For death is nothing in the sum of things,
And life is nothing in the sum of things,
And flesh is nothing in the sum of things,
But man in God is all and God in man,
Will merged in will, love immanent in love,
Moving through visioned vistas to one goal—
The goal of man in God and God in man,
And of all life in God and God in life—
The far fruition of our earthly prayer,
“Thy will be done!” . . . There is no other peace!

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

FOREWORD

IN the New York *Evening Post* for September 30, 1814, a correspondent writes from Washington that on the ruins of the Capitol, which had just been burned by a small British army, various disgusted patriots had written sentences which included the following: "Fruits of war without preparation" and "Mirror of democracy." A century later, in December, 1914, the same paper, ardently championing the policy of national unpreparedness and claiming that democracy was incompatible with preparedness against war, declared that it was moved to tears by its pleasure in the similar championship of the same policy contained in President Wilson's just-published message to Congress. The message is for the most part couched in terms of adroit and dexterous, and usually indirect, suggestion, and carefully avoids downright, or indeed straightforward, statement of policy—the meaning being conveyed in questions and hints, often so veiled and so obscure as to make it possible to draw contradictory conclusions from the words used. There are, however, fairly clear statements that we are "not to depend upon a standing army nor yet upon a reserve army," nor upon any efficient system of universal training for our young men, but upon vague and unformulated plans for encouraging volunteer aid for militia service by making it "as attractive as possible"! The message contains such sentences as that the President "hopes" that "some of the finer passions" of the American people "are in his own heart"; that

FOREWORD

“dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of”; such sentences as, shall we “be prepared to defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary,” and “if asked, are you ready to defend yourself? we reply, most assuredly, to the utmost.” It is difficult for a serious and patriotic citizen to understand how the President could have been willing to make such statements as these. Every student even of elementary American history knows that in our last foreign war with a formidable opponent, that of 1812, reliance on the principles President Wilson now advocates brought us to the verge of national ruin and of the break-up of the Union. The President must know that at that time we had not “found means” even to defend the capital city in which he was writing his message. He ought to know that at the present time, thanks largely to his own actions, we are not “ready to defend ourselves” at all, not to speak of defending ourselves “to the utmost.” In a state paper subtle prettiness of phrase does not offset misteaching of the vital facts of national history.

In 1814 this nation was paying for its folly in having for fourteen years conducted its foreign policy, and refused to prepare for defense against possible foreign foes, in accordance with the views of the ultrapacifists of that day. It behooves us now, in the presence of a world war even vaster and more terrible than the world war of the early nineteenth century, to beware of taking the advice of the equally foolish pacifists of our own day. To follow their advice at the present time might expose our democracy to far greater disaster than was brought upon it by its disregard of Washington’s maxim, and its failure to secure peace by preparing against war, a hundred years ago.

FOREWORD

In his message President Wilson has expressed his laudable desire that this country, naturally through its President, may act as mediator to bring peace among the great European powers. With this end in view he, in his message, deprecates our taking any efficient steps to prepare means for our own defense, lest such action might give a wrong impression to the great warring powers. Furthermore, in his overanxiety not to offend the powerful who have done wrong, he scrupulously refrains from saying one word on behalf of the weak who have suffered wrong. He makes no allusion to the violation of The Hague conventions at Belgium's expense, although this nation had solemnly undertaken to be a guarantor of those conventions. He makes no protest against the cruel wrongs Belgium has suffered. He says not one word about the need, in the interests of true peace, of the only peace worth having, that steps should be taken to prevent the repetition of such wrongs in the future.

This is not right. It is not just to the weaker nations of the earth. It comes perilously near a betrayal of our own interests. In his laudable anxiety to make himself acceptable as a mediator to England, and especially to Germany, President Wilson loses sight of the fact that his first duty is to the United States; and, moreover, desirable though it is that his conduct should commend him to Germany, to England, and to the other great contending powers, he should not for this reason forget the interests of the small nations, and above all of Belgium, whose gratitude can never mean anything tangible to him or to us, but which has suffered a wrong that in any peace negotiations it should be our first duty to see remedied.

In the following chapters, substantially reproduced

FOREWORD

from articles contributed to the Wheeler Syndicate and also to *The Outlook*, *The Independent*, and *Everybody's*, the attempt is made to draw from the present lamentable contest certain lessons which it would be well for our people to learn. Among them are the following:

We, a people akin to and yet different from all the peoples of Europe, should be equally friendly to all these peoples while they behave well, should be courteous to and considerate of the rights of each of them, but should not hesitate to judge each and all of them by their conduct.

The kind of "neutrality" which seeks to preserve "peace" by timidly refusing to live up to our plighted word and to denounce and take action against such wrong as that committed in the case of Belgium, is unworthy of an honorable and powerful people. Dante reserved a special place of infamy in the inferno for those base angels who dared side neither with evil nor with good. Peace is ardently to be desired, but only as the handmaid of righteousness. The only peace of permanent value is the peace of righteousness. There can be no such peace until well-behaved, highly civilized small nations are protected from oppression and subjugation.

National promises, made in treaties, in Hague conventions, and the like are like the promises of individuals. The sole value of the promise comes in the performance. Recklessness in making promises is in practice almost or quite as mischievous and dishonest as indifference to keeping promises; and this as much in the case of nations as in the case of individuals. Upright men make few promises, and keep those they make.

All the actions of the ultrapacifists for a generation

FOREWORD

past, all their peace congresses and peace conventions, have amounted to precisely and exactly nothing in advancing the cause of peace. The peace societies of the ordinary pacifist type have in the aggregate failed to accomplish even the smallest amount of good, have done nothing whatever for peace, and the very small effect they have had on their own nations has been, on the whole, slightly detrimental. Although usually they have been too futile to be even detrimental, their unfortunate tendency has so far been to make good men weak and to make virtue a matter of derision to strong men. All-inclusive arbitration treaties of the kind hitherto proposed and enacted are utterly worthless, are hostile to righteousness and detrimental to peace. The Americans, within and without Congress, who have opposed the fortifying of the Panama Canal and the up-building of the American navy have been false to the honor and the interest of the nation and should be condemned by every high-minded citizen.

In every serious crisis the present Hague conventions and the peace and arbitration and neutrality treaties of the existing type have proved not to be worth the paper on which they were written. This is because no method was provided of securing their enforcement, of putting force behind the pledge. Peace treaties and arbitration treaties unbacked by force are not merely useless but mischievous in any serious crisis.

Treaties must never be recklessly made; improper treaties should be repudiated long before the need for action under them arises; and all treaties not thus repudiated in advance should be scrupulously kept.

From the international standpoint the essential thing to do is effectively to put the combined power of civilization back of the collective purpose of civilization to

CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE AND OF GOOD CONDUCT TOWARD OTHERS | 3 |
| II. THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY | 14 |
| III. UNWISE PEACE TREATIES A MENACE TO RIGHTEOUSNESS | 36 |
| IV. THE CAUSES OF THE WAR | 49 |
| V. HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE | 60 |
| VI. THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS | 70 |
| VII. AN INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS | 82 |
| VIII. SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM | 101 |
| IX. OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY | 122 |
| X. PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR | 136 |
| XI. UTOPIA OR HELL? | 172 |
| XII. SUMMING UP | 191 |

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

I

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE AND OF GOOD CONDUCT TOWARD OTHERS



IN this country we are both shocked and stunned by the awful cataclysm which has engulfed civilized Europe. By only a few men was the possibility of such a wide-spread and hideous disaster even admitted. Most persons, even after it occurred, felt as if it was unbelievable. They felt that in what it pleased enthusiasts to speak of as "this age of enlightenment" it was impossible that primal passion, working hand in hand with the most modern scientific organization, should loose upon the world these forces of dread destruction.

In the last week in July the men and women of the populous civilized countries of Europe were leading their usual ordered lives, busy and yet soft, lives carried on with comfort and luxury, with appliances for ease and pleasure such as never before were known, lives led in a routine which to most people seemed part of the natural order of things, something which could not be disturbed by shocks such as the world knew of old. A fortnight later hell yawned under the feet of these hard-working or pleasure-seeking men and women, and woe smote them as it smote the peoples we read of in the Old Testament or in the histories of the Middle Ages. Through the rents in our smiling surface of civilization the volcanic fires beneath gleamed red in the gloom.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

What occurred in Europe is on a giant scale like the disaster to the *Titanic*. One moment the great ship was speeding across the ocean, equipped with every device for comfort, safety, and luxury. The men in her stoke-hold and steerage were more comfortable than the most luxurious travellers of a century ago. The people in her first-class cabins enjoyed every luxury that a luxurious city life could demand and were screened not only from danger but from the least discomfort or annoyance. Suddenly, in one awful and shattering moment, death smote the floating host, so busy with work and play. They were in that moment shot back through immeasurable ages. At one stroke they were hurled from a life of effortless ease back into elemental disaster; to disaster in which baseness showed naked, and heroism burned like a flame of light.

In the face of a calamity so world-wide as the present war, it behooves us all to keep our heads clear and to read aright the lessons taught us; for we ourselves may suffer dreadful penalties if we read these lessons wrong. The temptation always is only to half learn such a lesson, for a half-truth is always simple, whereas the whole truth is very, very difficult. Unfortunately, a half-truth, if applied, may turn out to be the most dangerous type of falsehood.

Now, our business here in America in the face of this cataclysm is twofold. In the first place it is imperative that we shall take the steps necessary in order, by our own strength and wisdom, to safeguard ourselves against such disaster as has occurred in Europe. Events have shown that peace treaties, arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, Hague treaties, and the like as at present existing, offer not even the smallest protection against such disasters. The prime duty of the moment

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE

is therefore to keep Uncle Sam in such a position that by his own stout heart and ready hand he can defend the vital honor and vital interest of the American people.

But this is not our only duty, even although it is the only duty we can immediately perform. The horror of what has occurred in Europe, which has drawn into the maelstrom of war large parts of Asia, Africa, Australasia, and even America, is altogether too great to permit us to rest supine without endeavoring to prevent its repetition. We are not to be excused if we do not make a resolute and intelligent effort to devise some scheme which will minimize the chance for a recurrence of such horror in the future and which will at least limit and alleviate it if it should occur. In other words, it is our duty to try to devise some efficient plan for securing the peace of righteousness throughout the world.

That any plan will surely and automatically bring peace we cannot promise. Nevertheless, I think a plan can be devised which will render it far more difficult than at present to plunge us into a world war and far more easy than at present to find workable and practical substitutes even for ordinary war. In order to do this, however, it is necessary that we shall fearlessly look facts in the face. We cannot devise methods for securing peace which will actually work unless we are in good faith willing to face the fact that the present all-inclusive arbitration treaties, peace conferences, and the like, upon which our well-meaning pacifists have pinned so much hope, have proved utterly worthless under serious strain. We must face this fact and clearly understand the reason for it before we can advance an adequate remedy.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

It is even more important not to pay heed to the pathetic infatuation of the well-meaning persons who declare that this is "the last great war." During the last century such assertions have been made again and again after the close of every great war. They represent nothing but an amiable fatuity. The strong men of the United States must protect the feeble; but they must not trust for guidance to the feeble.

In these chapters I desire to ask my fellow countrymen and countrywomen to consider the various lessons which are being writ in letters of blood and steel before our eyes. I wish to ask their consideration, first, of the immediate need that we shall realize the utter hopelessness under actually existing conditions of our trusting for our safety merely to the good-will of other powers or to treaties or other "bits of paper" or to anything except our own steadfast courage and preparedness. Second, I wish to point out what a complicated and difficult thing it is to work for peace and how difficult it may be to combine doing one's duty in the endeavor to bring peace for others without failing in one's duty to secure peace for oneself; and therefore I wish to point out how unwise it is to make foolish promises which under great strain it would be impossible to keep.

Third, I wish to try to give practical expression to what I know is the hope of the great body of our people. We should endeavor to devise some method of action, in common with other nations, whereby there shall be at least a reasonable chance of securing world peace and, in any event, of narrowing the sphere of possible war and its horrors. To do this it is equally necessary unflinchingly to antagonize the position of the men who believe in nothing but brute force exercised without re-

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE

gard to the rights of other nations, and unhesitatingly to condemn the well-meaning but unwise persons who seek to mislead our people into the belief that treaties, mere bits of paper, when unbacked by force and when there is no one responsible for their enforcement, can be of the slightest use in a serious crisis. Force unbacked by righteousness is abhorrent. The effort to substitute for it vague declamation for righteousness unbacked by force is silly. The policeman must be put back of the judge in international law just as he is back of the judge in municipal law. The effective power of civilization must be put back of civilization's collective purpose to secure reasonable justice between nation and nation.

First, consider the lessons taught by this war as to the absolute need under existing conditions of our being willing, ready, and able to defend ourselves from unjust attack. What has befallen Belgium and Luxembourg—not to speak of China—during the past five months shows the utter hopelessness of trusting to any treaties, no matter how well meant, unless back of them lies power sufficient to secure their enforcement.

At the outset let me explain with all possible emphasis that in what I am about to say at this time I am not criticising nor taking sides with any one of the chief combatants in either group of warring powers, so far as the relations between and among these chief powers themselves are concerned. The causes for the present contest stretch into the immemorial past. As far as the present generations of Germans, Frenchmen, Russians, Austrians, and Servians are concerned, their actions have been determined by deeds done and left undone by many generations in the past. Not only the sovereigns but the peoples engaged on each side believe sin-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

cerely in the justice of their several causes. This is convincingly shown by the action of the Socialists in Germany, France, and Belgium. Of all latter-day political parties the Socialist is the one in which international brotherhood is most dwelt upon, while international obligations are placed on a par with national obligations. Yet the Socialists in Germany and the Socialists in France and Belgium have all alike thrown themselves into this contest with the same enthusiasm and, indeed, the same bitterness as the rest of their countrymen. I am not at this moment primarily concerned with passing judgment upon any of the powers. I am merely instancing certain things that have occurred, because of the vital importance that we as a people should take to heart the lessons taught by these occurrences.

At the end of July, Belgium and Luxembourg were independent nations. By treaties executed in 1832 and 1867 their neutrality had been guaranteed by the great nations round about them—Germany, France, and England. Their neutrality was thus guaranteed with the express purpose of keeping them at peace and preventing any invasion of their territory during war. Luxembourg built no fortifications and raised no army, trusting entirely to the pledged faith of her neighbors. Belgium, an extremely thrifty, progressive, and prosperous industrial country, whose people are exceptionally hard-working and law-abiding, raised an army and built forts for purely defensive purposes. Neither nation committed the smallest act of hostility or aggression against any one of its neighbors. Each behaved with absolute propriety. Each was absolutely innocent of the slightest wrong-doing. Neither has the very smallest responsibility for the disaster that has over-

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE

whelmed her. Nevertheless as soon as the war broke out the territories of both were overrun.

Luxembourg made no resistance. It is now practically incorporated in Germany. Other nations have almost forgotten its existence and not the slightest attention has been paid to its fate simply because it did not fight, simply because it trusted solely to peaceful measures and to the treaties which were supposed to guarantee it against harm. The eyes of the world, however, are on Belgium because the Belgians have fought hard and gallantly for all that makes life best worth having to honorable men and women. In consequence, Belgium has been trampled under foot. At this moment not only her men but her women and children are enduring misery so dreadful that it is hard for us who live at peace to visualize it to ourselves.

The fate of Luxembourg and of Belgium offers an instructive commentary on the folly of the well-meaning people who a few years ago insisted that the Panama Canal should not be fortified and that we should trust to international treaties to protect it. After what has occurred in Europe no sane man has any excuse for believing that such treaties would avail us in our hour of need any more than they have availed Belgium and Luxembourg—and, for that matter, Korea and China—in their hours of need.

If a great world war should arise or if a great world-power were at war with us under conditions that made it desirable for other nations not to be drawn into the quarrel, any step that the hostile nation's real or fancied need demanded would unquestionably be taken, and any treaty that stood in the way would be treated as so much waste paper except so far as we could back it by force. If under such circumstances Panama is

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

retained and controlled by us, it will be because our forts and garrison and our fleets on the ocean make it unsafe to meddle with the Canal and the Canal Zone. Were it only protected by a treaty—that is, unless behind the treaty lay both force and the readiness to use force—the Canal would not be safe for twenty-four hours. Moreover, in such case, the real blame would lie at our own doors. We would not be helped at all, we would merely make ourselves objects of derision, if under these circumstances we screamed and clamored about the iniquity of those who violated the treaty and took possession of Panama. The blame would rightly be placed by the world upon our own supine folly, upon our own timidity and weakness, and we would be adjudged unfit to hold what we had shown ourselves too soft and too short-sighted to retain.

The most obvious lesson taught by what has occurred is the utter worthlessness of treaties unless backed by force. It is evident that as things are now, all-inclusive arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, treaties of alliance, and the like do not serve one particle of good in protecting a peaceful nation when some great military power deems its vital needs at stake, unless the rights of this peaceful nation are backed by force. The devastation of Belgium, the burning of Louvain, the holding of Brussels to heavy ransom, the killing of women and children, the wrecking of houses in Antwerp by bombs from air-ships have excited genuine sympathy among neutral nations. But no neutral nation has protested; and while unquestionably a neutral nation like the United States ought to have protested, yet the only certain way to make such a protest effective would be to put force back of it. Let our people remember that what has been done to Belgium would unquestionably

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE

be done to us by any great military power with which we were drawn into war, no matter how just our cause. Moreover, it would be done without any more protest on the part of neutral nations than we have ourselves made in the case of Belgium.

If, as an aftermath of this war, some great Old World power or combination of powers made war on us because we objected to their taking and fortifying Magdalena Bay or St. Thomas, our chance of securing justice would rest exclusively on the efficiency of our fleet and army, especially the fleet. No arbitration treaties, or peace treaties, of the kind recently negotiated at Washington by the bushful, and no tepid good-will of neutral powers, would help us in even the smallest degree. If our fleet were conquered, New York and San Francisco would be seized and probably each would be destroyed as Louvain was destroyed unless it were put to ransom as Brussels has been put to ransom. Under such circumstances outside powers would undoubtedly remain neutral exactly as we have remained neutral as regards Belgium.

Under such conditions my own view is very strongly that the national interest would be best served by refusing the payment of all ransom and accepting the destruction of the cities and then continuing the war until by our own strength and indomitable will we had exacted ample atonement from our foes. This would be a terrible price to pay for unpreparedness; and those responsible for the unpreparedness would thereby be proved guilty of a crime against the nation. Upon them would rest the guilt of all the blood and misery. The innocent would have to atone for their folly and strong men would have to undo and offset it by submitting to the destruction of our cities rather than

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

consent to save them by paying money which would be used to prosecute the war against the rest of the country. If our people are wise and far-sighted and if they still have in their blood the iron of the men who fought under Grant and Lee, they will, in the event of such a war, insist upon this price being paid, upon this course being followed. They will then in the end exact, from the nation which assails us, atonement for the misery and redress for the wrong done. They will not rely upon the ineffective good-will of neutral outsiders. They will show a temper that will make our foes think twice before meddling with us again.

The great danger to peace so far as this country is concerned arises from such pacifists as those who have made and applauded our recent all-inclusive arbitration treaties, who advocate the abandonment of our policy of building battleships and the refusal to fortify the Panama Canal. It is always possible that these persons may succeed in impressing foreign nations with the belief that they represent our people. If they ever do succeed in creating this conviction in the minds of other nations, the fate of the United States will speedily be that of China and Luxembourg, or else it will be saved therefrom only by long-drawn war, accompanied by incredible bloodshed and disaster.

It is those among us who would go to the front in such event—as I and my four sons would go—who are the really far-sighted and earnest friends of peace. We desire measures taken in the real interest of peace because we, who at need would fight, but who earnestly hope never to be forced to fight, have most at stake in keeping peace. We object to the actions of those who do most talking about the necessity of peace because we think they are really a menace to the just and hon-

THE DUTY OF SELF-DEFENSE

orable peace which alone this country will in the long run support. We object to their actions because we believe they represent a course of conduct which may at any time produce a war in which we and not they would labor and suffer.

In such a war the prime fact to be remembered is that the men really responsible for it would not be those who would pay the penalty. The ultrapacifists are rarely men who go to battle. Their fault or their folly would be expiated by the blood of countless thousands of plain and decent American citizens of the stamp of those, North and South alike, who in the Civil War laid down all they had, including life itself, in battling for the right as it was given to them to see the right.

II

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

PEACE is worthless unless it serves the cause of righteousness. Peace which consecrates militarism is of small service. Peace obtained by crushing the liberty and life of just and unoffending peoples is as cruel as the most cruel war. It should ever be our honorable effort to serve one of the world's most vital needs by doing all in our power to bring about conditions which will give some effective protection to weak or small nations which themselves keep order and act with justice toward the rest of mankind. There can be no higher international duty than to safeguard the existence and independence of industrious, orderly states, with a high personal and national standard of conduct, but without the military force of the great powers; states, for instance, such as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Uruguay, and others. A peace which left Belgium's wrongs unredressed and which did not provide against the recurrence of such wrongs as those from which she has suffered would not be a real peace.

As regards the actions of most of the combatants in the hideous world-wide war now raging it is possible sincerely to take and defend either of the opposite views concerning their actions. The causes of any such great and terrible contest almost always lie far back in the past, and the seeming immediate cause is usually itself in major part merely an effect of many preceding causes. The assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

throne was partly or largely due to the existence of political and often murderous secret societies in Servia which the Servian Government did not suppress; and it did not suppress them because the "bondage" of the men and women of the Servian race in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria was such a source of ever-present irritation to the Servians that their own government was powerless to restrain them. Strong arguments can be advanced on both the Austrian and the Servian sides as regards this initial cause of the present world-wide war.

Again, when once the war was started between Austria and Servia, it can well be argued that it was impossible for Russia not to take part. Had she not done so, she would have forfeited her claims to the leadership of the smaller Slav peoples; and the leading Russian liberals enthusiastically support the Russian Government in this matter, asserting that Russia's triumph in this particular struggle means a check to militarism, a stride toward greater freedom, and an advance in justice toward the Pole, the Jew, the Finn, and the people of the Caucasus.

When Russia took part it may well be argued that it was impossible for Germany not to come to the defense of Austria, and that disaster would surely have attended her arms had she not followed the course she actually did follow as regards her opponents on her western frontier. As for her wonderful efficiency—her equipment, the foresight and decision of her general staff, her instantaneous action, her indomitable persistence—there can be nothing but the praise and admiration due a stern, virile, and masterful people, a people entitled to hearty respect for their patriotism and far-seeing self-devotion.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

Yet again, it is utterly impossible to see how France could have acted otherwise than as she did act. She had done nothing to provoke the crisis, even although it be admitted that in the end she was certain to side with Russia. War was not declared by her, but against her, and she could not have escaped it save by having pursued in the past, and by willingness to pursue in the future, a course which would have left her as helpless as Luxembourg—and Luxembourg's fate shows that helplessness does not offer the smallest guaranty of peace.

When once Belgium was invaded, every circumstance of national honor and interest forced England to act precisely as she did act. She could not have held up her head among nations had she acted otherwise. In particular, she is entitled to the praise of all true lovers of peace, for it is only by action such as she took that neutrality treaties and treaties guaranteeing the rights of small powers will ever be given any value. The actions of Sir Edward Grey as he guided Britain's foreign policy showed adherence to lofty standards of right combined with firmness of courage under great strain. The British position, and incidentally the German position, are tersely stated in the following extract from the report of Sir Edward Goschen, who at the outset of the war was British ambassador in Berlin. The report, in speaking of the interview between the ambassador and the German imperial chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, says:

"The chancellor [spoke] about twenty minutes. He said the step taken by Great Britain was terrible to a degree. Just for a word, 'neutrality,' a word which in war time had been so often disregarded, just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation. What we had done was unthinkable.

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

It was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants.

"I protested strongly against this statement, and said that in the same way as he wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life or death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of life or death for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. A solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in England's engagement in the future?"

There is one nation, however, as to which there is no room for difference of opinion, whether we consider her wrongs or the justice of her actions. It seems to me impossible that any man can fail to feel the deepest sympathy with a nation which is absolutely guiltless of any wrong-doing, which has given proof of high valor, and yet which has suffered terribly, and which, if there is any meaning in the words "right" and "wrong," has suffered wrongfully. Belgium is not in the smallest degree responsible for any of the conditions that during the last half-century have been at work to impress a certain fatalistic stamp upon those actions of Austria, Russia, Germany, and France which have rendered this war inevitable. No European nation has had anything whatever to fear from Belgium. There was not the smallest danger of her making any aggressive movement, not even the slightest aggressive movement, against any one of her neighbors. Her population was mainly industrial and was absorbed in peaceful business. Her people were thrifty, hard-working, highly civilized, and in no way aggressive. She owed her national ex-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

istence to the desire to create an absolutely neutral state. Her neutrality had been solemnly guaranteed by the great powers, including Germany as well as England and France.

Suddenly, and out of a clear sky, her territory was invaded by an overwhelming German army. According to the newspaper reports, it was admitted in the Reichstag by German members that this act was "wrongful." Of course, if there is any meaning to the words "right" and "wrong" in international matters, the act was wrong. The men who shape German policy take the ground that in matters of vital national moment there are no such things as abstract right and wrong, and that when a great nation is struggling for its existence it can no more consider the rights of neutral powers than it can consider the rights of its own citizens as these rights are construed in times of peace, and that everything must bend before the supreme law of national self-preservation. Whatever we may think of the morality of this plea, it is certain that almost all great nations have in time past again and again acted in accordance with it. England's conduct toward Denmark in the Napoleonic wars, and the conduct of both England and France toward us during those same wars, admit only of this species of justification; and with less excuse the same is true of our conduct toward Spain in Florida nearly a century ago. Nevertheless we had hoped by the action taken at The Hague to mark an advance in international morality in such matters. The action taken by Germany toward Belgium, and the failure by the United States in any way to protest against such action, shows that there has been no advance. I wish to point out just what was done, and to emphasize Belgium's absolute innocence and the horrible suffering and

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

disaster that have overwhelmed her in spite of such innocence. And I wish to do this so that we as a nation may learn aright the lessons taught by the dreadful Belgian tragedy.

Germany's attack on Belgium was not due to any sudden impulse. It had been carefully planned for a score of years, on the assumption that the treaty of neutrality was, as Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg observed, nothing but "paper," and that the question of breaking or keeping it was to be considered solely from the standpoint of Germany's interest. The German railways up to the Belgian border are for the most part military roads, which have been double-tracked with a view to precisely the overwhelming attack that has just been delivered into and through Belgium. The great German military text-books, such as that of Bernhardi, in discussing and studying possible German campaigns against Russia and France, have treated advances through Belgium or Switzerland exactly as they have treated possible advances through German territory, it being assumed by the writers and by all for whom they wrote that no efficient rulers or military men would for a second consider a neutrality treaty or any other kind of treaty if it became to the self-interest of a party to break it. It must be remembered that the German system in no way limits its disregard of conventions to disregard of neutrality treaties. For example, in General von Bernhardi's book, in speaking of naval warfare, he lays down the following rule: "Sometimes in peace even, if there is no other means of defending oneself against a superior force, it will be advisable to attack the enemy by torpedo and submarine boats, and to inflict upon him unexpected losses. . . . War upon the enemy's trade must also be conducted as

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

ruthlessly as possible, since only then, in addition to the material damage inflicted upon the enemy, the necessary terror is spread among the merchant marine, which is even more important than the capture of actual prizes. A certain amount of terrorism must be practised on the sea, making peaceful tradesmen stay in safe harbors."

Belgium has felt the full effect of the practical application of these principles, and Germany has profited by them exactly as her statesmen and soldiers believed she would profit. They have believed that the material gain of trampling on Belgium would more than offset any material opposition which the act would arouse, and they treat with the utter and contemptuous derision which it deserves the mere pacifist clamor against wrong which is unaccompanied by the intention and effort to redress wrong by force.

The Belgians, when invaded, valiantly defended themselves. They acted precisely as Andreas Hofer and his Tyrolese, and Koerner and the leaders of the North German Tugendbund acted in their day; and their fate has been the fate of Andreas Hofer, who was shot after his capture, and of Koerner, who was shot in battle. They fought valiantly, and they were overcome. They were then stamped under foot. Probably it is physically impossible for our people, living softly and at ease, to visualize to themselves the dreadful woe that has come upon the people of Belgium, and especially upon the poor people. Let each man think of his neighbors—of the carpenter, the station agent, the day-laborer, the farmer, the grocer—who are round about him, and think of these men deprived of their all, their homes destroyed, their sons dead or prisoners, their wives and children half starved, overcome with fatigue

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

and horror, stumbling their way to some city of refuge, and when they have reached it, finding air-ships wrecking the houses with bombs and destroying women and children. The king shared the toil and danger of the fighting men; the queen and her children suffered as other mothers and children suffered.

Unquestionably what has been done in Belgium has been done in accordance with what the Germans sincerely believe to be the course of conduct necessitated by Germany's struggle for life. But Germany's need to struggle for her life does not make it any easier for the Belgians to suffer death. The Germans are in Belgium from no fault of the Belgians but purely because the Germans deemed it to their vital interest to violate Belgium's rights. Therefore the ultimate responsibility for what has occurred at Louvain and what has occurred and is occurring in Brussels rests upon Germany and in no way upon Belgium. The invasion could have been averted by no action of Belgium that was consistent with her honor and self-respect. The Belgians would have been less than men had they not defended themselves and their country. For this, and for this only, they are suffering, somewhat as my own German ancestors suffered when Turenne ravaged the Palatinate, somewhat as my Irish ancestors suffered in the struggles that attended the conquests and reconquests of Ireland in the days of Cromwell and William. The suffering is by no means as great, but it is very great, and it is altogether too nearly akin to what occurred in the seventeenth century for us of the twentieth century to feel overmuch pleased with the amount of advance that has been made. It is neither necessary nor at the present time possible to sift from the charges, counter-charges, and denials the exact facts as to the acts al-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

leged to have been committed in various places. The prime fact as regards Belgium is that Belgium was an entirely peaceful and genuinely neutral power which had been guilty of no offense whatever. What has befallen her is due to the further fact that a great, highly civilized military power deemed that its own vital interests rendered imperative the infliction of this suffering on an inoffensive although valiant and patriotic little nation.

I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins. But the sympathy and support of the American people should go out unreservedly to Belgium, and we should learn the lesson taught by Belgium's fall. What has occurred to Belgium is precisely what would occur under similar conditions to us, unless we were able to show that the action would be dangerous.

The rights and wrongs of these cases where nations violate the rules of morality in order to meet their own supposed needs can be precisely determined only when all the facts are known and when men's blood is cool. Nevertheless, it is imperative, in the interest of civilization, to create international conditions which shall neither require nor permit such action in the future. Moreover, we should understand clearly just what these actions are and just what lessons we of the United States should learn from them so far as our own future is concerned.

There are several such lessons. One is how complicated instead of how simple it is to decide what course we ought to follow as regards any given action supposed to be in the interest of peace. Of course I am speaking of the thing and not the name when I speak of peace. The ultrapacificists are capable of taking any position,

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

yet I suppose that few among them now hold that there was value in the "peace" which was obtained by the concert of European powers when they prevented interference with Turkey while the Turks butchered some hundreds of thousands of Armenian men, women, and children. In the same way I do not suppose that even the ultrapacificists really feel that "peace" is triumphant in Belgium at the present moment. President Wilson has been much applauded by all the professional pacificists because he has announced that our desire for peace must make us secure it for ourselves by a neutrality so strict as to forbid our even whispering a protest against wrong-doing, lest such whispers might cause disturbance to our ease and well-being. We pay the penalty of this action—or, rather, supine inaction—on behalf of peace for ourselves, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians in the present. We can maintain our neutrality only by refusal to do anything to aid unoffending weak powers which are dragged into the gulf of bloodshed and misery through no fault of their own. It is a grim comment on the professional pacifist theories as hitherto developed that, according to their view, our duty to preserve peace for ourselves necessarily means the abandonment of all effective effort to secure peace for other unoffending nations which through no fault of their own are trampled down by war.

The next lesson we should learn is of far more immediate consequence to us than speculations about peace in the abstract. Our people should wake up to the fact that it is a poor thing to live in a fool's paradise. What has occurred in this war ought to bring home to everybody what has of course long been known to all really well-informed men who were willing to face the truth

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

and not try to dodge it. Until some method is devised of putting effective force behind arbitration and neutrality treaties neither these treaties nor the vague and elastic body of custom which is misleadingly termed international law will have any real effect in any serious crisis between us and any save perhaps one or two of the great powers. The average great military power looks at these matters purely from the standpoint of its own interests. Several months ago, for instance, Japan declared war on Germany. She has paid scrupulous regard to our own rights and feelings in the matter. The contention that she is acting in a spirit of mere disinterested altruism need not be considered. She believes that she has wrongs to redress and strong national interests to preserve. Nineteen years ago Germany joined with Russia to check Japan's progress after her victorious war with China, and has since then itself built up a German colonial possession on Chinese soil. Doubtless the Japanese have never for one moment forgotten this act of Germany. Doubtless they also regard the presence of a strong European military power in China so near to Korea and Manchuria as a menace to Japan's national life. With businesslike coolness the soldierly statesmen of Nippon have taken the chance which offered itself of at little cost retaliating for the injury inflicted upon them in the past and removing an obstacle to their future dominance in eastern Asia. Korea is absolutely Japan's. To be sure, by treaty it was solemnly covenanted that Korea should remain independent. But Korea was itself helpless to enforce the treaty, and it was out of the question to suppose that any other nation with no interest of its own at stake would attempt to do for the Koreans what they were utterly unable to do for themselves. Moreover, the

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

treaty rested on the false assumption that Korea could govern herself well. It had already been shown that she could not in any real sense govern herself at all. Japan could not afford to see Korea in the hands of a great foreign power. She regarded her duty to her children and her children's children as overriding her treaty obligations. Therefore, when Japan thought the right time had come, it calmly tore up the treaty and took Korea, with the polite and businesslike efficiency it had already shown in dealing with Russia, and was afterward to show in dealing with Germany. The treaty, when tested, proved as utterly worthless as our own recent all-inclusive arbitration treaties—and worthlessness can go no further.

Hysteria does not tend toward edification; and in this country hysteria is unfortunately too often the earmark of the ultrapacifist. Surely at this time there is more reason than ever to remember Professor Lounsbury's remark concerning the "infinite capacity of the human brain to withstand the introduction of knowledge." The comments of some doubtless well-meaning citizens of our own country upon the lessons taught by this terrible cataclysm of war are really inexplicable to any man who forgets the truth that Professor Lounsbury thus set forth. A writer of articles for a newspaper syndicate the other day stated that Germany was being opposed by the rest of the world because it had "inspired fear." This thesis can, of course, be sustained. But Belgium has inspired no fear. Yet it has suffered infinitely more than Germany. Luxembourg inspired no fear. Yet it has been quietly taken possession of by Germany. The writer in question would find it puzzling to point out the particulars in which Belgium and Luxembourg—not to speak of China and Korea—

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

are at this moment better off than Germany. Of course they are worse off; and this because Germany *has* "inspired fear," and they have not. Nevertheless, this writer drew the conclusion that "fear" was the only emotion which ought not to be inspired; and he advocated our abandonment of battleships and other means of defense, so that we might never inspire "fear" in any one. He forgot that, while it is a bad thing to inspire fear, it is a much worse thing to inspire contempt. Another newspaper writer pointed out that on the frontier between us and Canada there were no forts, and yet peace obtained; and drew the conclusion that forts and armed forces were inimical to national safety. This worthy soul evidently did not know that Luxembourg had no forts or armed forces, and therefore succumbed without a protest of any kind. If he does not admire the heroism of the Belgians and prefer it to the tame submission of the Luxembourgers, then this writer is himself unfit to live as a free man in a free country. The crown of ineptitude, however, was reached by an editor who announced, in praising the recent all-inclusive peace treaties, that "had their like been in existence between some of the European nations two weeks ago, the world might have been spared the great war." It is rather hard to deal seriously with such a supposition. At this very moment the utter worthlessness, under great pressure, of even the rational treaties drawn to protect Belgium and Luxembourg has been shown. To suppose that under such conditions a bundle of bits of paper representing mere verbiage, with no guaranty, would count for anything whatever in a serious crisis is to show ourselves unfit to control the destinies of a great, just, and self-respecting people.

These writers wish us to abandon all means of de-

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

fending ourselves. Some of them advocate our abandoning the building of an efficient fleet. Yet at this moment Great Britain owes it that she is not in worse plight than Belgium solely to the fact that with far-sighted wisdom her statesmen have maintained her navy at the highest point of efficiency. At this moment the Japanese are at war with the Germans, and hostilities have been taking place in what but twenty years ago was Chinese territory, and what by treaty is unquestionably Chinese territory to-day. China has protested against the Japanese violation of Chinese neutrality in their operations against the Germans, but no heed has been paid to the protest, for China cannot back the protest by the use of armed force. Moreover, as China is reported to have pointed out to Germany, the latter power had violated Chinese neutrality just as Japan had done.

Very possibly the writers above alluded to were sincere in their belief that they were advocating what was patriotic and wise when they urged that the United States make itself utterly defenseless so as to avoid giving an excuse for aggression. Yet these writers ought to have known that during their own lifetime China has been utterly defenseless and yet has suffered from aggression after aggression. Large portions of its territory are now in the possession of Russia, of Japan, of Germany, of France, of England. The great war between Russia and Japan was fought on what was nominally Chinese territory. At present, because a few months ago Servian assassins murdered the heir to the Austrian monarchy, Japan has fought Germany on Chinese territory. Luxembourg has been absolutely powerless and defenseless, has had no soldiers and no forts. It is off the map at this moment. Not only are none

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

of the belligerents thinking about its rights, but no neutral is thinking about its rights, and this simply because Luxembourg could not defend itself. It is our duty to be patient with every kind of folly, but it is hard for a good American, for a man to whom his country is dear and who reveres the memories of Washington and Lincoln, to be entirely patient with the kind of folly that advocates reducing this country to the position of China and Luxembourg.

One of the main lessons to learn from this war is embodied in the homely proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick." Persistently only half of this proverb has been quoted in deriding the men who wish to safeguard our national interest and honor. Persistently the effort has been made to insist that those who advocate keeping our country able to defend its rights are merely adopting "the policy of the big stick." In reality, we lay equal emphasis on the fact that it is necessary to speak softly; in other words, that it is necessary to be respectful toward all people and scrupulously to refrain from wronging them, while at the same time keeping ourselves in condition to prevent wrong being done to us. If a nation does not in this sense speak softly, then sooner or later the policy of the big stick is certain to result in war. But what befell Luxembourg five months ago, what has befallen China again and again during the past quarter of a century, shows that no amount of speaking softly will save any people which does not carry a big stick.

America should have a coherent policy of action toward foreign powers, and this should primarily be based on the determination never to give offense when it can be avoided, always to treat other nations justly and courteously, and, as long as present conditions

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

exist, to be prepared to defend our own rights ourselves. No other nation will defend them for us. No paper guaranty or treaty will be worth the paper on which it is written if it becomes to the interest of some other power to violate it, unless we have strength, and courage and ability to use that strength, back of the treaty. Every public man, every writer who speaks with wanton offensiveness of a foreign power or of a foreign people, whether he attacks England or France or Germany, whether he assails the Russians or the Japanese, is doing an injury to the whole American body politic. We have plenty of shortcomings at home to correct before we start out to criticise the shortcomings of others. Now and then it becomes imperatively necessary in the interests of humanity, or in our own vital interest, to act in a manner which will cause offense to some other power. This is a lamentable necessity; but when the necessity arises we must meet it and act as we are honorably bound to act, no matter what offense is given. We must always weigh well our duties in such a case, and consider the rights of others as well as our own rights, in the interest of the world at large. If after such consideration it is evident that we are bound to act along a certain line of policy, then it is mere weakness to refrain from doing so because offense is thereby given. But we must never act wantonly or brutally, or without regard to the essentials of genuine morality—a morality considering our interests as well as the interests of others, and considering the interests of future generations as well as of the present generation. We must so conduct ourselves that every big nation and every little nation that behaves itself shall never have to think of us with fear, and shall have confidence not only in our justice but in our courtesy. Submission to

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

wrong-doing on our part would be mere weakness and would invite and insure disaster. We must not submit to wrong done to our honor or to our vital national interests. But we must be scrupulously careful always to speak with courtesy and self-restraint to others, always to act decently to others, and to give no nation any justification for believing that it has anything to fear from us as long as it behaves with decency and uprightness.

Above all, let us avoid the policy of peace with insult, the policy of unpreparedness to defend our rights, with inability to restrain our representatives from doing wrong to or publicly speaking ill of others. The worst policy for the United States is to combine the unbridled tongue with the unready hand.

We in this country have of course come lamentably short of our ideals. Nevertheless, in some ways our ideals have been high, and at times we have measurably realized them. From the beginning we have recognized what is taught in the words of Washington, and again in the great crisis of our national life in the words of Lincoln, that in the past free peoples have generally split and sunk on that great rock of difficulty caused by the fact that a government which recognizes the liberties of the people is not usually strong enough to preserve the liberties of the people against outside aggression. Washington and Lincoln believed that ours was a strong people and therefore fit for a strong government. They believed that it was only weak peoples that had to fear strong governments, and that to us it was given to combine freedom and efficiency. They belonged among that line of statesmen and public servants whose existence has been the negation of the theory that goodness is always associated with weakness, and that

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

strength always finds its expression in violent wrongdoing. Edward the Confessor represented exactly the type which treats weakness and virtue as interchangeable terms. His reign was the prime cause of the conquest of England. Godoy, the Spanish statesman, a century ago, by the treaties he entered into and carried out, actually earned the title of "Prince of Peace" instead of merely lecturing about it; and the result of his peacefulness was the loss by Spain of the vast regions which she then held in our country west of the Mississippi, and finally the overthrow of the Spanish national government, the setting up in Madrid of a foreign king by a foreign conqueror, and a long-drawn and incredibly destructive war. To statesmen of this kind Washington and Lincoln stand in as sharp contrast as they stand on the other side to the great absolutist chiefs such as Cæsar, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, and Cromwell. What was true of the personality of Washington and Lincoln was true of the policy they sought to impress upon our nation. They were just as hostile to the theory that virtue was to be confounded with weakness as to the theory that strength justified wrongdoing. No abundance of the milder virtues will save a nation that has lost the virile qualities; and, on the other hand, no admiration of strength must make us deviate from the laws of righteousness. The kind of "peace" advocated by the ultrapacificists of 1776 would have meant that we never would have had a country; the kind of "peace" advocated by the ultrapacificists in the early '60's would have meant the absolute destruction of the country. It would have been criminal weakness for Washington not to have fought for the independence of this country, and for Lincoln not to have fought for the preservation of the Union; just as in an infinitely smaller

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

degree it would have been criminal weakness for us if we had permitted wrong-doing in Cuba to go on for ever unchecked, or if we had failed to insist on the building of the Panama Canal in exactly the fashion that we did insist; and, above all, if we had failed to build up our navy as during the last twenty years it has been built up. No alliance, no treaty, and no easy good-will of other nations will save us if we are not true to ourselves; and, on the other hand, if we wantonly give offense to others, if we excite hatred and fear, then some day we will pay a heavy penalty.

The most important lesson, therefore, for us to learn from Belgium's fate is that, as things in the world now are, we must in any great crisis trust for our national safety to our ability and willingness to defend ourselves by our own trained strength and courage. We must not wrong others; and for our own safety we must trust, not to worthless bits of paper unbacked by power, and to treaties that are fundamentally foolish, but to our own manliness and clear-sighted willingness to face facts.

There is, however, another lesson which this huge conflict may at least possibly teach. There is at least a chance that from this calamity a movement may come which will at once supplement and in the future perhaps altogether supplant the need of the kind of action so plainly indicated by the demands of the present. It is at least possible that the conflict will result in a growth of democracy in Europe, in at least a partial substitution of the rule of the people for the rule of those who esteem it their God-given right to govern the people. This, in its turn, would render it probably a little more unlikely that there would be a repetition of such disastrous warfare. I do not think that at present it would

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

prevent the possibility of warfare. I think that in the great countries engaged, the peoples as a whole have been behind their sovereigns on both sides of this contest. Certainly the action of the Socialists in Germany, France, and Belgium, and, so far as we know, of the popular leaders in Russia, would tend to bear out the truth of this statement. But the growth of the power of the people, while it would not prevent war, would at least render it more possible than at present to make appeals which might result in some cases in coming to an accommodation based upon justice; for justice is what popular rule must be permanently based upon and must permanently seek to obtain or it will not itself be permanent.

Moreover, the horror that right-thinking citizens feel over the awful tragedies of this war can hardly fail to make sensible men take an interest in genuine peace movements and try to shape them so that they shall be more practical than at present. I most earnestly believe in every rational movement for peace. My objection is only to movements that do not in very fact tell in favor of peace or else that sacrifice righteousness to peace. Of course this includes objection to all treaties that make believe to do what, as a matter of fact, they fail to do. Under existing conditions universal and all-inclusive arbitration treaties have been utterly worthless, because where there is no power to compel nations to arbitrate, and where it is perfectly certain that some nations will pay no respect to such agreements unless they can be forced to do so, it is mere folly for others to trust to promises impossible of performance; and it is an act of positive bad faith to make these promises when it is certain that the nation making them would violate them. But this does not in the least mean that we must

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

abandon hope of taking action which will lessen the chance of war and make it more possible to circumscribe the limits of war's devastation.

For this result we must largely trust to sheer growth in morality and intelligence among the nations themselves. For a hundred years peace has obtained between us and Great Britain. No frontier in Europe is as long as the frontier between Canada and ourselves, and yet there is not a fort, nor an armed force worthy of being called such, upon it. This does not result from any arbitration treaty or any other treaty. Such treaties as those now existing are as a rule observed only when they serve to make a record of conditions that already exist and which they do not create. The fact simply is that there has been such growth of good feeling and intelligence that war between us and the British Empire is literally an impossibility, and there is no more chance of military movements across the Canadian border than there is of such movement between New York and New Hampshire or Quebec and Ontario. Slowly but surely, I believe, such feelings will grow, until war between the Englishman and the German, or the Russian, or the Frenchman, or between any of them and the American, will be as unthinkable as now between the Englishman or Canadian and the American.

But something can be done to hasten this day by wise action. It may not be possible at once to have this action as drastic as would be ultimately necessary; but we should keep our purpose in view. The utter weakness of The Hague court, and the worthlessness when strain is put upon them of most treaties, spring from the fact that at present there is no means of enforcing the carrying out of the treaty or enforcing the decision of the court. Under such circumstances recom-

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY

mendations for universal disarmament stand on an intellectual par with recommendations to establish "peace" in New York City by doing away with the police. Disarmament of the free and liberty-loving nations would merely mean insuring the triumph of some barbarism or despotism, and if logically applied would mean the extinction of liberty and of all that makes civilization worth having throughout the world. But in view of what has occurred in this war, surely the time ought to be ripe for the nations to consider a great world agreement among all the civilized military powers *to back righteousness by force*. Such an agreement would establish an efficient world league for the peace of righteousness.

III

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES A MENACE TO RIGHTEOUSNESS

IN studying certain lessons which should be taught the United States by this terrible world war, it is not necessary for us to try exactly to assess or apportion the blame. There are plenty of previous instances of violation of treaties to be credited to almost all the nations engaged on one side or the other. We need not try to puzzle out why Italy and Japan seemingly construed similar treaties of alliance in diametrically opposite ways; nor need we decide which was justified or whether both were justified. It is quite immaterial to us, as regards certain of the lessons taught, whether the treaties alleged to be violated affect Luxembourg on the one hand or Bosnia on the other, whether it is the neutrality of China or the neutrality of Belgium that is violated.

Yet again, we need always to keep in mind that, although it is culpable to break a treaty, it may be even worse recklessly to make a treaty which cannot be kept. Recklessness in making promises is the surest way in which to secure the discredit attaching to the breaking of promises. A treaty at present usually represents merely promise, not performance; and it is wicked to promise what will not or cannot be performed. Genuine good can even now be accomplished by narrowly limited and defined arbitration treaties which are not all-inclusive, if they deal with subjects on which arbi-

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

tration can be accepted. This nation has repeatedly acted in obedience to such treaties; and great good has come from arbitrations in such cases as, for example, the Dogger Bank incident, when the Russian fleet fired on British trawlers during the Russo-Japanese War. But no good whatever has come from treaties that represented a sham; and under existing conditions it is hypocritical for a nation to announce that it will arbitrate questions of honor or vital interest, and folly to think that opponents will abide by such treaties. Bad although it is to negotiate such a treaty, it would be worse to abide by it.

Under these conditions it is mischievous to a degree for a nation to trust to any treaty of the type now existing to protect it in great crises. Take the case of China as a living and present-day example. China has shown herself utterly impotent to defend her neutrality. Again and again she made this evident in the past. Order was not well kept at home and above all she was powerless to defend herself from outside attack. She has not prepared for war. She has kept utterly unprepared for war. Yet she has suffered more from war, in our own time, than any military power in the world during the same period. She has fulfilled exactly the conditions advocated by these well-meaning persons who for the last five months have been saying in speeches, editorials, articles for syndicates, and the like that the United States ought not to keep up battle-ships and ought not to trust to fortifications nor in any way to be ready or prepared to defend herself against hostile attack, but should endeavor to secure peace by being so inoffensive and helpless as not to arouse fear in others. The well-meaning people who write these editorials and make these speeches ought to understand

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

that though it is a bad thing for a nation to arouse fear it is an infinitely worse thing to excite contempt; and every editor or writer or public man who tells us that we ought not to have battleships and that we ought to trust entirely to well-intentioned foolish all-inclusive arbitration treaties and abandon fortifications and not keep prepared, is merely doing his best to bring contempt upon the United States and to insure disaster in the future.

Nor is China the only case in point. Luxembourg is a case in point. Korea is a case in point. Korea was utterly inoffensive and helpless. It neither took nor was capable of taking the smallest aggressive action against any one. It had no forts, no war-ships, no army worthy of the name. It excited no fear and no anger. But it did excite measureless contempt, and therefore it invited aggression.

The point I wish to make is, first, the extreme unwisdom and impropriety of making promises that cannot be kept, and, second, the utter futility of expecting that in any save exceptional cases a strong power will keep a promise which it finds to its disadvantage, unless there is some way of putting force back of the demand that the treaty be observed.

America has no claim whatever to superior virtue in this matter. We have shown an appalling recklessness in making treaties, especially all-inclusive arbitration treaties and the like, which in time of stress would not and could not be observed. When such a treaty is not observed the blame really rests upon the unwise persons who made the treaty. Unfortunately, however, this apportionment of blame cannot be made by outsiders. All they can say is that the country concerned—and I speak of the United States—does not keep

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

faith. The responsibility for breaking an improper promise really rests with those who make it; but the penalty is paid by the whole country.

There are certain respects in which I think the United States can fairly claim to stand ahead of most nations in its regard for international morality. For example, last spring when we took Vera Cruz, there were individuals within the city who fired at our troops in exactly the same fashion as that which is alleged to have taken place in Louvain. But it never for one moment entered the heads of our people to destroy Vera Cruz. In the same way, when we promised freedom to Cuba, we kept our promise, and after establishing an orderly government in Cuba withdrew our army and left her as an independent power; performing an act which, as far as I know, is entirely without parallel in the dealings of stronger with weaker nations.

In the same way our action in San Domingo, when we took and administered her customs-houses, represented a substantial and efficient achievement in the cause of international peace which stands high in the very honorable but scanty list of such actions by great nations in dealing with their less fortunate sisters. In the same way our handling of the Panama situation, both in the acquisition of the Canal, in its construction, and in the attitude we have taken toward the dwellers on the Isthmus and all the nations of mankind, has been such as to reflect signal honor on our people. In the same way we returned the Chinese indemnity, because we deemed it excessive, just as previously we had returned a money indemnity to Japan. Similarly the disinterestedness with which we have administered the Philippines for the good of the Philippine people is something upon which we have a right to pride ourselves and

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

shows the harm that would have been done had we not taken possession of the Philippines.

But, unfortunately, in dealing with schemes of universal peace and arbitration, we have often shown an unwillingness to fulfil proper promises which we had already made by treaty, coupled with a reckless willingness to make new treaties with all kinds of promises which were either improper and ought not to be kept or which, even if proper, could not and would not be kept. It has again and again proved exceedingly difficult to get Congress to appropriate money to pay some obligation which under treaty or arbitration or the like has been declared to be owing by us to the citizens of some foreign nation. Often we have announced our intention to make sweeping arbitration treaties or agreements at the very time when by our conduct we were showing that in actual fact we had not the slightest intention of applying them with the sweeping universality we promised. In these cases we were usually, although not always, right in our refusal to apply the treaties, or rather the principles set forth in the treaties, to the concrete case at issue; but we were utterly wrong, we were, even although perhaps unintentionally, both insincere and hypocritical, when at the same time we made believe we intended that these principles would be universally applied. This was particularly true in connection with the universal arbitration treaties which our government unsuccessfully endeavored to negotiate some three years ago. Our government announced at that time that we intended to enter into universal arbitration treaties under which we would arbitrate everything, even including questions of honor and of vital national interest. At the very time that this announcement was made and the negotiation of the treaties be-

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

gun, the government in case after case where specific performance of its pledges was demanded responded with a flat refusal to do the very thing it had announced its intention of doing.

Recently, there have been negotiated in Washington thirty or forty little all-inclusive arbitration or so-called "peace" treaties, which represent as high a degree of fatuity as is often achieved in these matters. There is no likelihood that they will do us any great material harm because it is absolutely certain that we would not pay the smallest attention to them in the event of their being invoked in any matter where our interests were seriously involved; but it would do us moral harm to break them, even although this were the least evil of two evil alternatives. It is a discreditable thing that at this very moment, with before our eyes such proof of the worthlessness of the neutrality treaties affecting Belgium and Luxembourg, our nation should be negotiating treaties which convince every sensible and well-informed observer abroad that we are either utterly heedless in making promises which cannot be kept or else willing to make promises which we have no intention of keeping. What has just happened shows that such treaties are worthless except to the degree that force can and will be used in backing them.

There are some well-meaning people, misled by mere words, who doubtless think that treaties of this kind do accomplish something. These good and well-meaning people may feel that I am not zealous in the cause of peace. This is the direct reverse of the truth. I abhor war. In common with all other thinking men I am inexpressibly saddened by the dreadful contest now waging in Europe. I put peace very high as an agent for bringing about righteousness. But if I must choose

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

between righteousness and peace I choose righteousness. Therefore, I hold myself in honor bound to do anything in my power to advance the cause of the peace of righteousness throughout the world. I believe we can make substantial advances by international agreement in the line of achieving this purpose and in this book I state in outline just what I think can be done toward this end. But I hold that we will do nothing and less than nothing unless, pending the accomplishment of this purpose, we keep our own beloved country in such shape that war shall not strike her down; and, furthermore, unless we also seriously consider what the defects have been in the existing peace, neutrality, and arbitration treaties and in the attitude hitherto assumed by the professional pacifists, which have rendered these treaties such feeble aids to peace and the ultrapacifist attitude a positive obstacle to peace.

The truth is that the advocates of world-wide peace, like all reformers, should bear in mind Josh Billings's astute remark that "it is much easier to be a harmless dove than a wise serpent." The worthy pacifists have completely forgotten that the Biblical injunction is two-sided and that we are bidden not only to be harmless as doves but also to be wise as serpents. The ultrapacifists have undoubtedly been an exceedingly harmless body so far as obtaining peace is concerned. They have exerted practically no influence in restraining wrong, although they have sometimes had a real and lamentable influence in crippling the forces of right and preventing them from dealing with wrong. An appreciable amount of good work has been done for peace by genuine lovers of peace, but it has not been done by the feeble folk of the peace movement, loquacious but

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

impotent, who are usually unfortunately prominent in the movement and who excite the utter derision of the great powers of evil.

Sincere lovers of peace who are wise have been obliged to face the fact that it is often a very complicated thing to secure peace without the sacrifice of righteousness. Furthermore, they have been obliged to face the fact that generally the only way to accomplish anything was by not trying to accomplish too much.

The complicated nature of the problem is shown by the fact that whereas the real friends of righteousness believe that our duty to peace ought to be fulfilled by protesting against—and doubtless if necessary doing more than merely protest against—the violation of the rights secured to Belgium by treaty, the professional pacifists nervously point out that such a course would expose us to accusations of abandoning our “neutrality.” In theory these pacifists admit it to be our duty to uphold The Hague treaties of which we were among the signatory powers; but they are against effective action to uphold them, for they are pathetic believers in the all-sufficiency of signatures, placed on bits of paper. They have pinned their faith to the foolish belief that everything put in these treaties was forthwith guaranteed to all mankind. In dealing with the rights of neutrals Article 10 of Chapter I explicitly states that if the territory of a neutral nation is invaded the repelling of such invasion by force shall not be esteemed a “hostile” act on the part of the neutral nation. Unquestionably under this clause Belgium has committed no hostile act. Yet, this sound declaration of morality, in a treaty that the leading world-powers have signed, amounts to precisely and exactly nothing so far as the rights of poor Belgium are concerned, because there is

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

no way provided of enforcing the treaty and because the American Government has decided that it can keep at peace and remain neutral only by declining to do what, according to the intention of The Hague treaty, it would be expected to do in securing peace for Belgium. In practice The Hague treaties have proved and will always prove useless while there is no sanction of force behind them. For the United States to proffer "good offices" to the various powers entering such a great conflict as the present one accomplishes not one particle of good; to refer them, when they mutually complain of wrongs, to a Hague court which is merely a phantom does less than no good. The Hague treaties can accomplish nothing, and ought not to have been entered into, unless in such a case as this of Belgium there is willingness to take efficient action under them. There could be no better illustration of how extremely complicated and difficult a thing it is in practice instead of in theory to make even a small advance in the cause of peace.

I believe that international opinion can do something to arrest wrong; but only if it is aroused and finds some method of clear and forceful expression. For example, I hope that it has been aroused to the point of preventing any repetition at the expense of Brussels of the destruction which has befallen Louvain. The peaceful people of Brussels now live in dread of what may happen to them if the Germans should evacuate the city. In such an event it is possible that half a dozen fanatics, or half a dozen young roughs of the "Apache" type, in spite of everything that good citizens may do, will from some building fire on the retiring soldiers. In such case the offenders ought to be and must be treated with instant and unsparing rigor, and those clearly guilty of

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

aiding or shielding them should also be so treated. But if in such case Brussels is in whole or in part destroyed as Louvain was destroyed, those destroying it will be guilty of a capital crime against civilization; and it is heartily to be regretted that civilized nations have not devised some method by which the collective power of civilization can be used to prevent or punish such crimes. In every great city there are plenty of reckless or fanatical or downright evil men eagerly ready to do some act which is abhorrent to the vast majority of their fellows; and it is wicked to punish with cruel severity immense multitudes of innocent men, women, and children for the misdeeds of a few rascals or fanatics. Of course, it is eminently right to punish by death these rascals or fanatics themselves.

Kindly people who know little of life and nothing whatever of the great forces of international rivalry have exposed the cause of peace to ridicule by believing that serious wars could be avoided through arbitration treaties, peace treaties, neutrality treaties, and the action of The Hague court, without putting force behind such treaties and such action. The simple fact is that none of these existing treaties and no function of The Hague court hitherto planned and exercised have exerted or could exert the very smallest influence in maintaining peace when great conflicting international passions are aroused and great conflicting national interests are at stake. It happens that wars have been more numerous in the fifteen years since the first Hague conference than in the fifteen years prior to it. It was Russia that called the first and second Hague conferences, and in the interval she fought the war with Japan and is now fighting a far greater war. We bore a prominent part at The Hague conferences; but if The Hague

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

court had been in existence in 1898 it could not have had the smallest effect upon our war with Spain; and neither would any possible arbitration treaty or peace treaty have had any effect. At the present moment Great Britain owes its immunity from invasion purely to its navy and to the fact that that navy has been sedulously exercised in time of peace so as to prepare it for war. Great Britain has always been willing to enter into any reasonable—and into some unreasonable—peace and arbitration treaties; but her fate now would have been the fate of Belgium and would not have been hindered in the smallest degree by these treaties, if she had not possessed a first-class navy. The navy has done a thousand times more for her peace than all the arbitration treaties and peace treaties of the type now existing that the wit of man could invent. I believe that national agreement in the future can do much toward minimizing the chance for war; but it must be by proceeding along different lines from those hitherto followed and in an entirely different spirit from the ultra-pacifist or professional peace-at-any-price spirit.

The Hague court has served a very limited, but a useful, purpose. Some, although only a small number, of the existing peace and arbitration treaties have served a useful purpose. But the purpose and the service have been strictly limited. Issues often arise between nations which are not of first-class importance, which do not affect their vital honor and interest, but which, if left unsettled, may eventually cause irritation that will have the worst possible results. The Hague court and the different treaties in question provide instrumentalities for settling such disputes, where the nations involved really wish to settle them but might be unable to do so if means were not supplied. This is a

UNWISE PEACE TREATIES

real service and one well worth rendering. These treaties and The Hague court have rendered such service again and again in time past. It has been a misfortune that some worthy people have anticipated too much and claimed too much in reference to them, for the failure of the excessive claims has blinded men to what they really have accomplished. To expect from them what they cannot give is merely short-sighted. To assert that they will give what they cannot give is mischievous. To promise that they will give what they cannot give is not only mischievous but hypocritical; and it is for this reason that such treaties as the thirty or forty all-inclusive arbitration or peace treaties recently negotiated at Washington, although unimportant, are slightly harmful.

The Hague court has proved worthless in the present gigantic crisis. There is hardly a Hague treaty which in the present crisis has not in some respect been violated. However, a step toward the peaceful settlement of questions at issue between nations which are not vital and which do not mark a serious crisis has been accomplished on certain occasions in the past by the action of The Hague court and by rational and limited peace or arbitration treaties. Our business is to try to make this court of more effect and to enlarge the class of cases where its actions will be valuable. In order to do this, we must endeavor to put an international police force behind this international judiciary. At the same time we must refuse to do or say anything insincere. Above all, we must refuse to be misled into abandoning the policy of efficient self-defense, by any unfounded trust that The Hague court, as now constituted, and peace or arbitration treaties of the existing type, can in the smallest degree accomplish what they never have ac-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

complished and never can accomplish. Neither the existing Hague court nor any peace treaties of the existing type will exert even the slightest influence in saving from disaster any nation that does not preserve the virile virtues and the long-sightedness that will enable it by its own might to guard its own honor, interest, and national life.

IV

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

FROM what we have so far considered, two things are evident. First, it is quite clear that in the world, as it is at this moment situated, it is literally criminal, literally a crime against the nation, not to be adequately and thoroughly prepared in advance, so as to guard ourselves and hold our own in war. We should have a much better army than at present, including especially a far larger reserve upon which to draw in time of war. We should have first-class fortifications, especially on the Canal and in Hawaii. Most important of all, we should not only have a good navy but should have it continually exercised in manœuvring. For nearly two years our navy has totally lacked the practice in manœuvring in fleet formation indispensable to its efficiency.

Of all the lessons hitherto taught by the war, the most essential for us to take to heart is that taught by the catastrophe that has befallen Belgium. One side of this catastrophe, one lesson taught by Belgium's case, is the immense gain in the self-respect of a people that has dared to fight heroically in the face of certain disaster and possible defeat. Every Belgian throughout the world carries his head higher now than he has ever carried it before, because of the proof of virile strength that his people have given. In the world at large there is not the slightest interest concerning Luxembourg's ultimate fate; there is nothing more than amusement

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

as to the discussion whether Japan or Germany is most to blame in connection with the infringement of Chinese neutrality. This is because neither China nor Luxembourg has been able and willing effectively to stand for her own rights. At this moment Luxembourg is enjoying "peace"—the peace of death. But Belgium has stood for her own rights. She has shown heroism, courage, and self-sacrifice, and, great though the penalty, the ultimate reward will be greater still.

If ever this country is attacked and drawn into war as Belgium, through no fault of her own, was drawn into war, I hope most earnestly that she will emulate Belgium's courage; and this she cannot do unless she is prepared in advance as Belgium was prepared. In one point, as I have already stated, I very earnestly hope that she will go beyond Belgium. If any great city, such as New York or San Francisco, Boston or Seattle, is held for ransom by a foreign foe, I earnestly hope that Americans, within the city and without, will insist that not one dollar of ransom shall be paid, and will gladly acquiesce in the absolute destruction of the city, by fire or in any other manner, rather than see a dollar paid into the war chest of our foes for the further prosecution of the war against us. Napoleon the Great made many regions pay for their own conquest and the conquest of the nations to which they belonged. But Spain and Russia would not pay, and the burning of Moscow and the defense of Saragossa marked the two great stages in the turn of the tide against him. The prime lesson of this war is that no nation can preserve its own self-respect, or the good-will of other nations, unless it keeps itself ready to exact justice from others, precisely as it should keep itself eager and willing to do justice to others.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

The second lesson is the utter inadequacy in times of great crises of existing peace and neutrality treaties, and of all treaties conceived in the spirit of the all-inclusive arbitration treaties recently adopted at Washington; and, in fact, of all treaties which do not put potential force behind the treaty, which do not create some kind of international police power to stand behind international sense of right as expressed in some competent tribunal.

It remains to consider whether there is not—and I believe there is—some method which will bring nearer the day when international war of the kind hitherto waged and now waging between nations shall be relegated to that past which contains the kind of private war that was habitually waged between individuals up to the end of the Middle Ages. By degrees the work of a national police has been substituted for the exercise of the right of private war. The growth of sentiment in favor of peace within each nation accomplished little until an effective police force was put back of the sentiment. There are a few communities where such a police force is almost non-existent, although always latent in the shape of a sheriff's posse or something of the kind. In all big communities, however, in all big cities, law is observed, innocent and law-abiding and peaceful people are protected and the disorderly and violent classes prevented from a riot of mischief and wrong-doing only by the presence of an efficient police force. Some analogous international police force must be created if war between nations is to be minimized as war between individuals has been minimized.

It is, of course, essential that, if this end is to be accomplished, we shall face facts with the understanding of what they really signify. Not the slightest good is

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

done by hysterical outcries for a peace which would consecrate wrong or leave wrongs unredressed. Little or nothing would be gained by a peace which merely stopped this war for the moment and left untouched all the causes that have brought it about. A peace which left the wrongs of Belgium unredressed, which did not leave her independent and secured against further wrong-doing, and which did not provide measures hereafter to safeguard all peaceful nations against suffering the fate that Belgium has suffered, would be mischievous rather than beneficial in its ultimate effects. If the United States had any part in bringing about such a peace it would be deeply to our discredit as a nation. Belgium has been terribly wronged, and the civilized world owes it to itself to see that this wrong is redressed and that steps are taken which will guarantee that hereafter conditions shall not be permitted to become such as either to require or to permit such action as that of Germany against Belgium. Surely all good and honest men who are lovers of peace and who do not use the great words "love of peace" to cloak their own folly and timidity must agree that peace is to be made the handmaiden of righteousness or else that it is worthless.

England's attitude in going to war in defense of Belgium's rights, according to its guaranty, was not only strictly proper but represents the only kind of action that ever will make a neutrality treaty or peace treaty or arbitration treaty worth the paper on which it is written. The published despatches of the British Government show that Sir Edward Grey clearly, emphatically, and scrupulously declined to commit his government to war until it became imperative to do so if Great Britain was to fulfil, as her honor and interest

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

alike demanded, her engagements on behalf of the neutrality of Belgium. Of course, as far as Great Britain is concerned, she would not be honorably justified in making peace unless this object of her going to war was achieved. Our hearty sympathy should go out to her in this attitude.

The case of Belgium in this war stands by itself. As regards all the other powers, it is not only possible to make out a real case in favor of every nation on each side, but it is also quite possible to show that, under existing conditions, each nation was driven by its vital interests to do what it did. The real nature of the problem we have ahead of us can only be grasped if this attitude of the several powers is thoroughly understood. To paint the Kaiser as a devil, merely bent on gratifying a wicked thirst for bloodshed, is an absurdity, and worse than an absurdity. I believe that history will declare that the Kaiser acted in conformity with the feelings of the German people and as he sincerely believed the interests of his people demanded; and, as so often before in his personal and family life, he and his family have given honorable proof that they possess the qualities that are characteristic of the German people. Every one of his sons went to the war, not nominally, but to face every danger and hardship. Two of his sons hastily married the girls to whom they were betrothed and immediately afterward left for the front.

This was a fresh illustration of one of the most striking features of the outbreak of the war in Germany. In tens of thousands of cases the officers and enlisted men, who were engaged, married immediately before starting for the front. In many of the churches there were long cues of brides waiting for the ceremony, so as to enable their lovers to marry them just before they re-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

sponded to the order that meant that they might have to sacrifice everything, including life, for the nation. A nation that shows such a spirit is assuredly a great nation. The efficiency of the German organization, the results of the German preparation in advance, were strikingly shown in the powerful forward movement of the first six weeks of the war and in the steady endurance and resolute resourcefulness displayed in the following months.

Not only is the German organization, the German preparedness, highly creditable to Germany, but even more creditable is the spirit lying behind the organization. The men and women of Germany, from the highest to the lowest, have shown a splendid patriotism and abnegation of self. In reading of their attitude, it is impossible not to feel a thrill of admiration for the stern courage and lofty disinterestedness which this great crisis laid bare in the souls of the people. I most earnestly hope that we Americans, if ever the need may arise, will show similar qualities.

It is idle to say that this is not a people's war. The intensity of conviction in the righteousness of their several causes shown by the several peoples is a prime factor for consideration, if we are to take efficient means to try to prevent a repetition of this incredible world tragedy. History may decide in any war that one or the other party was wrong, and yet also decide that the highest qualities and powers of the human soul were shown by that party. We here in the United States have now grown practically to accept this view as regards our own Civil War, and we feel an equal pride in the high devotion to the right, as it was given each man to see the right, shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

The English feel that in this war they fight not only for themselves but for principle, for justice, for civilization, for a real and lasting world peace. Great Britain is backed by the great free democracies that under her flag have grown up in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa. She feels that she stands for the liberties and rights of weak nations everywhere. One of the most striking features of the war is the way in which the varied peoples of India have sprung to arms to defend the British Empire.

The Russians regard the welfare of their whole people as at stake. The Russian Liberals believe that success for Russia means an end of militarism in Europe. They believe that the Pole, the Jew, the Finn, the man of the Caucasus will each and all be enfranchised, that the advance of justice and right in Russia will be immeasurably furthered by the triumph of the Russian people in this contest, and that the conflict was essential, not only to Russian national life but to the growth of freedom and justice within her boundaries.

The people of Germany believe that they are engaged primarily in a fight for life of the Teuton against the Slav, of civilization against what they regard as a vast menacing flood of barbarism. They went to war because they believed the war was an absolute necessity, not merely to German well-being but to German national existence. They sincerely feel that the nations of western Europe are traitors to the cause of Occidental civilization, and that they themselves are fighting, each man for his own hearthstone, for his own wife and children, and all for the future existence of the generations yet to come.

The French feel with passionate conviction that this is the last stand of France, and that if she does not now

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

succeed and is again trampled under foot, her people will lose for all time their place in the forefront of that great modern civilization of which the debt to France is literally incalculable. It would be impossible too highly to admire the way in which the men and women of France have borne themselves in this nerve-shattering time of awful struggle and awful suspense. They have risen level to the hour's need, whereas in 1870 they failed so to rise. The high valor of the French soldiers has been matched by the poise, the self-restraint, the dignity, and the resolution with which the French people and the French Government have behaved.

Of Austria and Hungary, of Servia and Montenegro, exactly the same is true, and the people of each of these countries have shown the sternest and most heroic courage and the loftiest and most patriotic willingness for self-sacrifice.

To each of these peoples the war seems a crusade against threatening wrong, and each man fervently believes in the justice of his cause. Moreover, each combatant fights with that terrible determination to destroy the opponent which springs from fear. It is not the fear which any one of these powers has inspired that offers the difficult problem. It is the fear which each of them genuinely feels. Russia believes that a quarter of the Slav people will be trodden under the heel of the Germans, unless she succeeds. France and England believe that their very existence depends on the destruction of the German menace. Germany believes that unless she can so cripple, and, if possible, destroy her western foes, as to make them harmless in the future, she will be unable hereafter to protect herself against the mighty Slav people on her eastern boundary and

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

will be reduced to a condition of international impotence. Some of her leaders are doubtless influenced by worse motives; but the motives above given are, I believe, those that influence the great mass of Germans, and these are in their essence merely the motives of patriotism, of devotion to one's people and one's native land.

We nations who are outside ought to recognize both the reality of this fear felt by each nation for others, together with the real justification for its existence. Yet we cannot sympathize with that fear-born anger which would vent itself in the annihilation of the conquered. The right attitude is to limit militarism, to destroy the menace of militarism, but to preserve the national integrity of each nation. The contestants are the great civilized peoples of Europe and Asia.

Japan's part in the war has been slight. She has borne herself with scrupulous regard not only to the rights but to the feelings of the people of the United States. Japan's progress should be welcomed by every enlightened friend of humanity because of the promise it contains for the regeneration of Asia. All that is necessary in order to remove every particle of apprehension caused by this progress is to do what ought to be done in reference to her no less than in reference to European and American powers, namely, to develop a world policy which shall guarantee each nation against any menace that might otherwise be held for it in the growth and progress of another nation.

The destruction of Russia is not thinkable, but if it were, it would be a most frightful calamity. The Slavs are a young people, of limitless possibilities, who from various causes have not been able to develop as rapidly as the peoples of central and western Europe. They

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

have grown in civilization until their further advance has become something greatly to be desired, because it will be a factor of immense importance in the welfare of the world. All that is necessary is for Russia to throw aside the spirit of absolutism developed in her during the centuries of Mongol dominion. She will then be found doing what no other race can do and what it is of peculiar advantage to the English-speaking peoples that she should do.

As for crushing Germany or crippling her and reducing her to political impotence, such an action would be a disaster to mankind. The Germans are not merely brothers; they are largely ourselves. The debt we owe to German blood is great; the debt we owe to German thought and to German example, not only in governmental administration but in all the practical work of life, is even greater. Every generous heart and every far-seeing mind throughout the world should rejoice in the existence of a stable, united, and powerful Germany, too strong to fear aggression and too just to be a source of fear to its neighbors.

As for France, she has occupied, in the modern world, a position as unique as Greece in the world of antiquity. To have her broken or cowed would mean a loss to-day as great as the loss that was suffered by the world when the creative genius of the Greek passed away with his loss of political power and material greatness. The world cannot spare France.

Now, the danger to each of these great and splendid civilizations arises far more from the fear that each feels than from the fear that each inspires. Belgium's case stands apart. She inspired no fear. No peace should be made until her wrongs have been redressed, and the likelihood of the repetition of such wrongs provided

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

against. She has suffered incredibly because the fear among the plain German people, among the Socialists, for instance, of the combined strength of France and Russia made them acquiesce in and support the policy of the military party, which was to disregard the laws of international morality and the plain and simple rights of the Belgian people.

It is idle merely to make speeches and write essays against this fear, because at present the fear has a real basis. At present each nation has cause for the fear it feels. Each nation has cause to believe that its national life is in peril unless it is able to take the national life of one or more of its foes or at least hopelessly to cripple that foe. The causes of the fear must be removed or, no matter what peace may be patched up to-day or what new treaties may be negotiated to-morrow, these causes will at some future day bring about the same results, bring about a repetition of this same awful tragedy.

V

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

IN the preceding chapters I have endeavored to set forth, in a spirit of absolute fairness and calmness, the lessons as I see them that this war teaches all the world and especially the United States. I believe I have shown that, while, at least as against Belgium, there has been actual wrong-doing, yet on the whole and looking back at the real and ultimate causes rather than at the temporary occasions of the war, what has occurred is due primarily to the intense fear felt by each nation for other nations and to the anger born of that fear. Doubtless in certain elements, notably certain militaristic elements, of the population other motives have been at work; but I believe that the people of each country, in backing the government of that country, in the present war have been influenced mainly by a genuine patriotism and a genuine fear of what might happen to their beloved land in the event of aggression by other nations.

Under such conditions, as I have shown, our duty is twofold. In the first place, events have clearly demonstrated that in any serious crisis treaties unbacked by force are not worth the paper upon which they are written. Events have clearly shown that it is the idlest of folly to assert, and little short of treason against the nation for statesmen who should know better to pretend, that the salvation of any nation under existing world conditions can be trusted to treaties, to little bits of paper with names signed on them but without any efficient force behind them. The United States will be

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

guilty of criminal misconduct, we of this generation will show ourselves traitors to our children and our children's children if, as conditions are now, we do not keep ourselves ready to defend our hearths, trusting in great crises not to treaties, not to the ineffective good-will of outsiders, but to our own stout hearts and strong hands.

So much for the first and most vital lesson. But we are not to be excused if we stop here. We must endeavor earnestly but with sanity to try to bring around better world conditions. We must try to shape our policy in conjunction with other nations so as to bring nearer the day when the peace of righteousness, the peace of justice and fair dealing, will be established among the nations of the earth. With this object in view, it is our duty carefully to weigh the influences which are at work or may be put to work in order to bring about this result and in every effective way to do our best to further the growth of these influences. When this has been done no American administration will be able to assert that it is reduced to humiliating impotence even to protest against such wrong as that committed on Belgium, because, forsooth, our "neutrality" can only be preserved by failure to help right what is wrong—and we shall then as a people have too much self-respect to enter into absurd, all-inclusive arbitration treaties, unbacked by force, at the very moment when we fail to do what is clearly demanded by our duty under The Hague treaties.

Doubtless in the long run most is to be hoped from the slow growth of a better feeling, a more real feeling of brotherhood among the nations, among the peoples. The experience of the United States shows that there is no real foundation in race for the bitter antagonism felt among Slavs and Germans, French and English.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

There are in this country hundreds of thousands, millions, of men who by birth and parentage are of German descent, of French descent or Slavonic descent, or descended from each of the peoples within the British Islands. These different races not only get along well together here, but become knit into one people, and after a few generations their blood is mingled. In my own veins runs not only the blood of ancestors from the various peoples of the British Islands, English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, but also the blood of Frenchman and of German—not to speak of my forefathers from Holland. It is idle to tell us that the Frenchman and the German, the Slav and the Englishman are irreconcilably hostile one to the other because of difference of race. From our own daily experiences we know the contrary. We know that good men and bad men are to be found in each race. We know that the differences between the races above named and many others are infinitesimal compared with the vital points of likeness.

But this growth is too slow by itself adequately to meet present needs. At present we are confronted with the fact that each nation must keep armed and must be ready to go to war because there is a real and desperate need to do so and because the penalty for failure may be to suffer a fate like that of China. At present in every great crisis treaties have shown themselves not worth the paper they are written on, and the multitude of peace congresses that have been held have failed to secure even the slightest tangible result, as regards any contest in which the passions of great nations were fully aroused and their vital interests really concerned. In other words, each nation at present in any crisis of fundamental importance has to rely purely on its own power, its own strength, its own individual force. The

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

futility of international agreements in great crises has come from the fact that force was not back of them.

What is needed in international matters is to create a judge and then to put police power back of the judge.

So far the time has not been ripe to attempt this. Surely now, in view of the awful cataclysm of the present war, such a plan could at least be considered; and it may be that the combatants at the end will be willing to try it in order to secure at least a chance for the only kind of peace that is worth having, the peace that is compatible with self-respect. Merely to bring about a peace at the present moment, without providing for the elimination of the causes of war, would accomplish nothing of any permanent value, and the attempt to make it would probably represent nothing else than the adroit use of some more or less foolish or more or less self-interested outsider by some astute power which wished to see if it could not put its opponents in the wrong.

If the powers were justified in going into this war by their vital interests, then they are required to continue the war until these vital interests are no longer in jeopardy. A peace which left without redress wrongs like those which Belgium has suffered or which in effect consecrated the partial or entire destruction of one or more nations and the survival in aggravated form of militarism and autocracy, and of international hatred in its most intense and virulent form, would really be only a worthless truce and would not represent the slightest advance in the cause of righteousness and of international morality.

The essential thing to do is to free each nation from the besetting fear of its neighbor. This can only be done by removing the causes of such fear. The neighbor must no longer be a danger.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

Mere disarmament will not accomplish this result, and the disarmament of the free and enlightened peoples, so long as a single despotism or barbarism were left armed, would be a hideous calamity. If armaments were reduced while causes of trouble were in no way removed, wars would probably become somewhat more frequent just because they would be less expensive and less decisive. It is greatly to be desired that the growth of armaments should be arrested, but they cannot be arrested while present conditions continue. Mere treaties, mere bits of papers, with names signed to them and with no force back of them, have proved utterly worthless for the protection of nations, and where they are the only alternatives it is not only right but necessary that each nation should arm itself so as to be able to cope with any possible foe.

The one permanent move for obtaining peace, which has yet been suggested, with any reasonable chance of attaining its object, is by an agreement among the great powers, in which each should pledge itself not only to abide by the decisions of a common tribunal but to back with force the decisions of that common tribunal. The great civilized nations of the world which do possess force, actual or immediately potential, should combine by solemn agreement in a great World League for the Peace of Righteousness. In a later chapter I shall briefly outline what such an agreement should attempt to perform. At present it is enough to say that such a world agreement offers the only alternative to each nation's relying purely on its own armed strength; for a treaty unbacked by force is in no proper sense of the word an alternative.

Of course, if there were not reasonable good faith among the nations making such an agreement, it would

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

fail. But it would not fail merely because one nation did not observe good faith. It would be impossible to say that such an agreement would at once and permanently bring universal peace. But it would certainly mark an immense advance. It would certainly mean that the chances of war were minimized and the prospects of limiting and confining and regulating war immensely increased. At present force, as represented by the armed strength of the nations, is wholly divorced from such instrumentalities for securing peace as international agreements and treaties. In consequence, the latter are practically impotent in great crises. There is no connection between force, on the one hand, and any scheme for securing international peace or justice on the other. Under these conditions every wise and upright nation must continue to rely for its own peace and well-being on its own force, its own strength. As all students of the law know, a right without a remedy is in no real sense of the word a right at all. In international matters the declaration of a right, or the announcement of a worthy purpose, is not only aimless, but is a just cause for derision and may even be mischievous, if force is not put behind the right or the purpose. Our business is to make force the agent of justice, the instrument of right in international matters as it has been made in municipal matters, in matters within each nation.

One good purpose which would be served by the kind of international action I advocate is that of authoritatively deciding when treaties terminate or lapse. At present every treaty ought to contain provision for its abrogation; and at present the wrong done in disregarding a treaty may be one primarily of time and manner. Unquestionably it may become an imperative duty to abrogate a treaty. The Supreme Court of the United

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

States set forth this right and duty in convincing manner when discussing our treaty with France during the administration of John Adams, and again a century later when discussing the Chinese treaty. The difficulty at present is that each case must be treated on its own merits; for in some cases it may be right and necessary for a nation to abrogate or denounce (not to violate) a treaty; and yet in other cases such abrogation may represent wrong-doing which should be suppressed by the armed strength of civilization. At present in cases where only two nations are concerned there is no substitute for such abrogation or violation of the treaty by one of them; for each of the two has to be judge in its own case. But the tribunal of a world league would offer the proper place to which to apply for the abrogation of treaties; and, with international force back of such a tribunal, the infraction of a treaty could be punished in whatever way the necessities of the case demanded.

Such a scheme as the one hereinafter briefly outlined will not bring perfect justice any more than under municipal law we obtain perfect justice; but it will mark an immeasurable advance on anything now existing; for it will mean that at last a long stride has been taken in the effort to put the collective strength of civilized mankind behind the collective purpose of mankind to secure the peace of righteousness, the peace of justice among the nations of the earth.

It may be, though I sincerely hope to the contrary, that such a scheme is for the immediate future Utopian—it certainly will not be Utopian for the remote future. If it is impossible in the immediate future to devise some working scheme by which force shall be put behind righteousness in disinterested and effective fashion,

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

where international wrongs are concerned, then the only alternative will be for each free people to keep itself in shape with its own strength to defend its own rights and interests, and meanwhile to do all that can be done to help forward the slow growth of sentiment which is assuredly, although very gradually, telling against international wrong-doing and violence.

Man, in recognizedly human shape, has been for ages on this planet, and the extraordinary discoveries in Egypt and Mesopotamia now enable us to see in dim fashion the beginning of historic times six or seven thousand years ago. In the earlier ages of which history speaks there was practically no such thing as an international conscience. The armies of Babylon and Assyria, Egypt and Persia felt no sense of obligation to outsiders and conquered merely because they wished to conquer. In Greece a very imperfect recognition of international right grew up so far as Greek communities were concerned, but it never extended to barbarians. In the Roman Empire this feeling grew slightly, if only for the reason that so many nations were included within its bounds and were forced to live peaceably together. In the Middle Ages the common Christianity of Europe created a real bond. There was at least a great deal of talk about the duties of Christian nations to one another; and although the action along the lines of the talk was lamentably insufficient, still the talk itself represented the dawning recognition of the fact that each nation might owe something to other nations and that it was not right to base action purely on self-interest.

There has undoubtedly been a wide expansion of this feeling during the last few centuries, and particularly during the last century. It now extends so as to include

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

not only Christian nations but also those non-Christian nations which themselves treat with justice and fairness the men of different creed. We are still a lamentably long distance away from the goal toward which we are striving; but we have taken a few steps toward that goal. A hundred years ago the English-speaking peoples of Britain and America regarded one another as inveterate and predestined enemies, just as three centuries previously had been the case in Great Britain itself between those who dwelt in the northern half and those who dwelt in the southern half of the island. Now war is unthinkable between us. Moreover, there is a real advance in good-will, respect, and understanding between the United States and all the other nations of the earth. The advance is not steady and it is interrupted at times by acts of unwisdom, which are quite as apt to be committed by ourselves as by other peoples; but the advance has gone on. There is far greater sentiment than ever before against unwarranted aggressions by stronger powers against weak powers; there is far greater feeling against misconduct, whether in small or big powers; and far greater feeling against brutality in war.

This does not mean that the wrong-doing as regards any one of these matters has as yet been even approximately stopped or that the indignation against such wrong-doing is as yet anything like as effective as it should be. But we must not let our horror at the wrong that is still done blind us to the fact that there has been improvement. As late as the eighteenth century there were continual instances where small nations or provinces were overrun, just as Belgium has been overrun, without any feeling worth taking into account being thereby excited in the rest of mankind. In the seven-

HOW TO STRIVE FOR WORLD PEACE

teenth century affairs were worse. What has been done in Belgian cities has been very dreadful and the Belgian countryside has suffered in a way to wring our hearts; but our sympathy and indignation must not blind us to the fact that even in this case there has been a real advance during the last three hundred years and that such things as were done to Magdeburg and Wexford and Drogheda and the entire Palatinate in the seventeenth century are no longer possible.

There is every reason to feel dissatisfied with the slow progress that has been made in putting a stop to wrong-doing; it is our bounden duty now to act so as to secure redress for wrong-doing; but nevertheless we must also recognize the fact that some progress has been made, and that there is now a good deal of real sentiment, and some efficient sentiment, against international wrong-doing. There has been a real growth toward international peace, justice, and fair dealing. We have still a long way to go before reaching the goal, but at least we have gone forward a little way toward the goal. This growth will continue. We must do everything that we can to make it continue. But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that as yet this growth is not such as in any shape or way to warrant us in relying for our ultimate safety in great national crises upon anything except the strong fibre of our national character, and upon such preparation in advance as will give that character adequate instruments wherewith to make proof of its strength.

VI

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

"Come, Peace! not like a mourner bowed
For honor lost and dear ones wasted,
But proud, to meet a people proud,
With eyes that tell o' triumph tasted!
Come, with han' gripping on the hilt,
An' step that proves ye Victory's daughter!
Longin' for you, our sperits wilt
Like shipwrecked men's on raf's for water.

Come, while our country feels the lift
Of a great instinct shouting 'Forwards!'
An' knows that freedom ain't a gift
Thet tarries long in han's of cowards!
Come, sech ez mothers prayed for, when
They kissed their cross with lips that quivered,
An' bring fair wages for brave men,
A nation saved, a race delivered!"

THESE are the noble lines of a noble poet, written in the sternest days of the great Civil War, when the writer, Lowell, was one among the millions of men who mourned the death in battle of kinsfolk dear to him. No man ever lived who hated an unjust war more than Lowell or who loved with more passionate fervor the peace of righteousness. Yet, like the other great poets of his day and country, like Holmes, who sent his own son to the war, like gentle Longfellow and the Quaker Whittier, he abhorred unrighteousness and ignoble peace more than war. These men had lofty souls. They possessed the fighting edge, without which no man is really great; for in the really great man there must be both the heart of gold and the temper of steel.

In 1864 there were in the North some hundreds of

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

thousands of men who praised peace as the supreme end, as a good more important than all other goods, and who denounced war as the worst of all evils. These men one and all assailed and denounced Abraham Lincoln, and all voted against him for President. Moreover, at that time there were many individuals in England and France who said it was the duty of those two nations to mediate between the North and the South, so as to stop the terrible loss of life and destruction of property which attended our Civil War; and they asserted that any Americans who in such event refused to accept their mediation and to stop the war would thereby show themselves the enemies of peace. Nevertheless, Abraham Lincoln and the men back of him by their attitude prevented all such effort at mediation, declaring that they would regard it as an unfriendly act to the United States. Looking back from a distance of fifty years, we can now see clearly that Abraham Lincoln and his supporters were right. Such mediation would have been a hostile act, not only to the United States but to humanity. The men who clamored for unrighteous peace fifty years ago this fall were the enemies of mankind.

These facts should be pondered by the well-meaning men who always clamor for peace without regard to whether peace brings justice or injustice. Very many of the men and women who are at times misled into demanding peace, as if it were itself an end instead of being a means of righteousness, are men of good intelligence and sound heart who only need seriously to consider the facts, and who can then be trusted to think aright and act aright. There is, however, an element of a certain numerical importance among our people, including the members of the ultrapacifist group, who

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

by their teachings do some real, although limited, mischief. They are a feeble folk, these ultrapacifists, morally and physically; but in a country where voice and vote are alike free, they may, if their teachings are not disregarded, create a condition of things where the crop they have sowed in folly and weakness will be reaped with blood and bitter tears by the brave men and high-hearted women of the nation.

The folly preached by some of these individuals is somewhat startling, and if it were translated from words into deeds it would constitute a crime against the nation. One professed teacher of morality made the plea in so many words that we ought to follow the example of China and deprive ourselves of all power to repel foreign attack. Surely this writer must have possessed the exceedingly small amount of information necessary in order to know that nearly half of China was under foreign dominion and that while he was writing the Germans and Japanese were battling on Chinese territory and domineering as conquerors over the Chinese in that territory. Think of the abject soul of a man capable of holding up to the admiration of free-born American citizens such a condition of serfage under alien rule!

Nor is the folly confined only to the male sex. A number of women teachers in Chicago are credited with having proposed, in view of the war, hereafter to prohibit in the teaching of history any reference to war and battles. Intellectually, of course, such persons show themselves unfit to be retained as teachers a single day, and indeed unfit to be pupils in any school more advanced than a kindergarten. But it is not their intellectual, it is also their moral shortcomings which are striking. The suppression of the truth is, of course, as grave an offense against morals as is the suggestion of

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

the false or even the lie direct; and these teachers actually propose to teach untruths to their pupils.

True teachers of history must tell the facts of history; and if they do not tell the facts both about the wars that were righteous and the wars that were unrighteous, and about the causes that led to these wars and to success or defeat in them, they show themselves morally unfit to train the minds of boys and girls. If in addition to telling the facts they draw the lessons that should be drawn from the facts, they will give their pupils a horror of all wars that are entered into wantonly or with levity or in a spirit of mere brutal aggression or save under dire necessity. But they will also teach that among the noblest deeds of mankind are those that have been done in great wars for liberty, in wars of self-defense, in wars for the relief of oppressed peoples, in wars for putting an end to wrong-doing in the dark places of the globe.

Any teachers, in school or college, who occupied the position that these foolish, foolish teachers have sought to take, would be forever estopped from so much as mentioning Washington and Lincoln; because their lives are forever associated with great wars for righteousness. These teachers would be forever estopped from so much as mentioning the shining names of Marathon and Salamis. They would seek to blind their pupils' eyes to the glory held in the deeds and deaths of Joan of Arc, of Andreas Hofer, of Alfred the Great, of Arnold von Winkelried, of Kosciusko and Rákóczy. They would be obliged to warn their pupils against ever reading Schiller's "William Tell" or the poetry of Koerner. Such men are deaf to the lament running:

"Oh, why, Patrick Sarsfield, did we let your ships sail
Across the dark waters from green Innisfail?"

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

To them Holmes's ballad of Bunker Hill and Whittier's "Laus Deo," MacMaster's "Ode to the Old Continentals" and O'Hara's "Bivouac of the Dead" are meaningless. Their cold and timid hearts are not stirred by the surge of the tremendous "Battle Hymn of the Republic." On them lessons of careers like those of Timoleon and John Hampden are lost; in their eyes the lofty self-abnegation of Robert Lee and Stonewall Jackson was folly; their dull senses do not thrill to the deathless deaths of the men who died at Thermopylæ and at the Alamo—the fight of those grim Texans of which it was truthfully said that Thermopylæ had its messengers of death but the Alamo had none.

It has actually been proposed by some of these shivering apostles of the gospel of national abjectness that, in view of the destruction that has fallen on certain peaceful powers of Europe, we should abandon all efforts at self-defense, should stop building battleships, and cease to take any measures to defend ourselves if attacked. It is difficult seriously to consider such a proposition. It is precisely and exactly as if the inhabitants of a village in whose neighborhood highway robberies had occurred should propose to meet the crisis by depriving the local policeman of his revolver and club.

There are, however, many high-minded people who do not agree with these extremists, but who nevertheless need to be enlightened as to the actual facts. These good people, who are busy people and not able to devote much time to thoughts about international affairs, are often confused by men whose business it is to know better. For example, a few weeks ago these good people were stirred to a moment's belief that something had been accomplished by the enactment at Washington of a score or two of all-inclusive arbitration treaties; being

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

not unnaturally misled by the fact that those responsible for the passage of the treaties indulged in some not wholly harmless bleating as to the good effects they would produce. As a matter of fact, they *probably* will not produce the smallest effect of any kind or sort. Yet it is *possible* they may have a mischievous effect, inasmuch as under certain circumstances to fulfil them would cause frightful disaster to the United States, while to break them, even although under compulsion and because it was absolutely necessary, would be fruitful of keen humiliation to every right-thinking man who is jealous of our international good name.

If, for example, whatever the outcome of the present war, a great triumphant military despotism declared that it would not recognize the Monroe Doctrine or seized Magdalena Bay, or one of the Dutch West Indies, or the Island of St. Thomas, and fortified it; or if—as would be quite possible—it announced that we had no right to fortify the Isthmus of Panama, and itself landed on adjacent territory to erect similar fortifications; then, under these absurd treaties, we would be obliged, if we happened to have made one of them with one of the countries involved, to go into an interminable discussion of the subject before a joint commission, while the hostile nation proceeded to make its position impregnable. It seems incredible that the United States Government could have made such treaties; but it has just done so, with the warm approval of the professional pacifists.

These treaties were entered into when the administration had before its eyes at that very moment the examples of Belgium and Luxembourg, which showed beyond possibility of doubt, especially when taken in connection with other similar incidents that have oc-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

curred during the last couple of decades, that there are various great military empires in the Old World who will pay not one moment's heed to the most solemn and binding treaty, if it is to their interest to break it. If any one of these empires, as the result of the present contest, obtains something approaching to a position of complete predominance in the Old World, it is absolutely certain that it would pay no heed whatever to these treaties, if it desired to better its position in the New World by taking possession of the Dutch or Danish West Indies or of the territory of some weak American State on the mainland of the continent. In such event we would be obliged either instantly ourselves to repudiate the scandalous treaties by which the government at Washington has just sought to tie our hands—and thereby expose ourselves in our turn to the charge of bad faith—or else we should have to abdicate our position as a great power and submit to abject humiliation.

Since these articles of mine were written and published, I am glad to see that James Bryce, a lifelong advocate of peace and the staunchest possible friend of the United States, has taken precisely the position herein taken. He dwells, as I have dwelt, upon the absolute need of protecting small states that behave themselves from absorption in great military empires. He insists, as I have insisted, upon the need of the reduction of armaments, the quenching of the baleful spirit of militarism, and the admission of the peoples everywhere to a fuller share in the control of foreign policy—all to be accomplished by some kind of international league of peace. He adds, however, as the culminating and most important portion of his article:

“But no scheme for preventing future wars will have

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

any chance of success unless it rests upon the assurance that the states which enter it will loyally and steadfastly abide by it and that each and all of them will join in coercing by their overwhelming united strength any state which may disregard the obligations it has undertaken."

This is almost exactly what I have said. Indeed, it is almost word for word what I have said—an agreement which is all the more striking because when he wrote it Lord Bryce could not have known what I had written. We must insist on righteousness first and foremost. We must strive for peace always; but we must never hesitate to put righteousness above peace. In order to do this, we must put force back of righteousness, for, as the world now is, national righteousness without force back of it speedily becomes a matter of derision. To the doctrine that might makes right, it is utterly useless to oppose the doctrine of right unbacked by might.

It is not even true that what the pacifists desire is right. The leaders of the pacifists of this country who for five months now have been crying, "Peace, peace," have been too timid even to say that they want the peace to be a righteous one. We needlessly dignify such outcries when we speak of them as well-meaning. The weaklings who raise their shrill piping for a peace that shall consecrate successful wrong occupy a position quite as immoral as and infinitely more contemptible than the position of the wrong-doers themselves. The ruthless strength of the great absolutist leaders—Elizabeth of England, Catherine of Russia, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Bismarck—is certainly infinitely better for their own nations and is probably better for mankind at large than the loquacious im-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

potence, ultimately trouble-breeding, which has recently marked our own international policy. A policy of blood and iron is sometimes very wicked; but it rarely does as much harm, and never excites as much derision, as a policy of milk and water—and it comes dangerously near flattery to call the foreign policy of the United States under President Wilson and Mr. Bryan merely one of milk and water. Strength at least commands respect; whereas the prattling feebleness that dares not rebuke any concrete wrong, and whose proposals for right are marked by sheer fatuity, is fit only to excite weeping among angels and among men the bitter laughter of scorn.

At this moment any peace which leaves unredressed the wrongs of Belgium, and which does not effectively guarantee Belgium and all other small nations that behave themselves, against the repetition of such wrongs would be a well-nigh unmixed evil. As far as we personally are concerned, such a peace would inevitably mean that we should at once and in haste have to begin to arm ourselves or be exposed in our turn to the most frightful risk of disaster. Let our people take thought for the future. What Germany did to Belgium because her need was great and because she possessed the ruthless force with which to meet her need she would, of course, do to us if her need demanded it; and in such event what her representatives now say as to her intentions toward America would trouble her as little as her signature to the neutrality treaties troubled her when she subjugated Belgium. Nor does she stand alone in her views of international morality. More than one of the great powers engaged in this war has shown by her conduct in the past that if it profited her she would without the smallest scruple treat any land

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

in the two Americas as Belgium has been treated. What has recently happened in the Old World should be pondered deeply by the nations of the New World; by Chile, Argentina, and Brazil no less than by the United States. The World War has proved beyond peradventure that the principle underlying the Monroe Doctrine is of vast moment to the welfare of all America, and that neither this nor any other principle can be made effective save as power is put behind it.

Belgium was absolutely innocent of offense. Her cities have been laid waste or held to ransom for gigantic sums of money; her fruitful fields have been trampled into mire; her sons have died on the field of battle; her daughters are broken-hearted fugitives; a million of her people have fled to foreign lands. Entirely disregarding all accusations as to outrages on individuals, it yet remains true that disaster terrible beyond belief has befallen this peaceful nation of six million people who themselves had been guilty of not even the smallest wrong-doing. Louvain and Dinant are smoke-grimed and blood-stained ruins. Brussels has been held to enormous ransom, although it did not even strive to defend itself. Antwerp did strive to defend itself. Because soldiers in the forts attempted to repulse the enemy, hundreds of houses in the undefended city were wrecked with bombs from air-ships, and throngs of peaceful men, women, and children were driven from their homes by the sharp terror of death. Be it remembered always that not one man in Brussels, not one man in Antwerp, had even the smallest responsibility for the disaster inflicted upon them. Innocence has proved not even the smallest safeguard against such woe and suffering as we in this land can at present hardly imagine.

What befell Antwerp and Brussels will surely some

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

day befall New York or San Francisco, and may happen to many an inland city also, if we do not shake off our supine folly, if we trust for safety to peace treaties unbacked by force. At the beginning of last month, by the appointment of the President, peace services were held in the churches of this land. As far as these services consisted of sermons and prayers of good and wise people who wished peace only if it represented righteousness, who did not desire that peace should come unless it came to consecrate justice and not wrongdoing, good and not evil, the movement represented good. In so far, however, as the movement was understood to be one for immediate peace without any regard to righteousness or justice, without any regard for righting the wrongs of those who have been crushed by unmerited disaster, then the movement represented mischief, precisely as fifty years ago, in 1864, in our own country a similar movement for peace, to be obtained by acknowledgment of disunion and by the perpetuation of slavery, would have represented mischief. In the present case, however, the mischief was confined purely to those taking part in the movement in an unworthy spirit; for (like the peace parades and newspaper peace petitions) it was a merely subjective phenomenon; it had not the slightest effect of any kind, sort, or description upon any of the combatants abroad and could not possibly have any effect upon them. It is well for our own sakes that we should pray sincerely and humbly for the peace of righteousness; but we must guard ourselves from any illusion as to the news of our having thus prayed producing the least effect upon those engaged in the war.

There is just one way in which to meet the upholders of the doctrine that might makes right. To do so we

THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

must prove that right will make might, by backing right with might.

In his second inaugural address Andrew Jackson laid down the rule by which every national American administration ought to guide itself, saying: "The foreign policy adopted by our government is to do justice to all, and to submit to wrong by none."

The statement of the dauntless old fighter of New Orleans is as true now as when he wrote it. We must stand absolutely for righteousness. But to do so is utterly without avail unless we possess the strength and the loftiness of spirit which will back righteousness with deeds and not mere words. We must clear the rubbish from off our souls and admit that everything that has been done in passing peace treaties, arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, Hague treaties, and the like, with no sanction of force behind them, amounts to literally and absolutely zero, to literally and absolutely nothing, in any time of serious crisis. We must recognize that to enter into foolish treaties which cannot be kept is as wicked as to break treaties which can and ought to be kept. We must labor for an international agreement among the great civilized nations which shall put the full force of all of them back of any one of them, and of any well-behaved weak nation, which is wronged by any other power. Until we have completed this purpose, we must keep ourselves ready, high of heart and undaunted of soul, to back our rights with our strength.

VII

AN INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

MOST Western Americans who are past middle age remember young, rapidly growing, and turbulent communities in which there was at first complete anarchy. During the time when there was no central police power to which to appeal every man worth his salt, in other words every man fit for existence in such a community, had to be prepared to defend himself; and usually, although not always, the fact that he was prepared saved him from all trouble, whereas unpreparedness was absolutely certain to invite disaster.

In such communities before there was a regular and fully organized police force there came an interval during which the preservation of the peace depended upon the action of a single official, a sheriff or marshal, who if the law was defied in arrogant fashion summoned a posse comitatus composed of as many armed, thoroughly efficient, law-abiding citizens as were necessary in order to put a stop to the wrong-doing. Under these conditions each man had to keep himself armed and both able and willing to respond to the call of the peace-officer; and furthermore, if he had a shred of wisdom he kept himself ready in an emergency to act on his own behalf if the peace-officer did not or could not do his duty.

In such towns I have myself more than once seen well-meaning but foolish citizens endeavor to meet the exigencies of the case by simply passing resolutions of disarmament without any power back of them. That is,

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

they passed self-denying ordinances, saying that nobody was to carry arms; but they failed to provide methods for carrying such ordinances into effect. In every case the result was the same. Good citizens for the moment abandoned their weapons. The bad men continued to carry them. Things grew worse instead of better; and then the good men came to their senses and clothed some representative of the police with power to employ force, potential or existing, against the wrong-doers.

Affairs in the international world are at this time in analogous condition. There is no central police power, and not the least likelihood of its being created. Well-meaning enthusiasts have tried their hands to an almost unlimited extent in the way of devising all-inclusive arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, disarmament proposals, and the like, with no force back of them, and the result has been stupendous and discreditable failure. Preparedness for war on the part of individual nations has sometimes but not always averted war. Unpreparedness for war, as in the case of China, Korea, and Luxembourg, has invariably invited smashing disaster, and sometimes complete conquest. Surely these conditions should teach a lesson that any man who runs may read unless his eyes have been blinded by folly or his heart weakened by cowardice.

The immediately vital lesson for each individual nation is that as things are now it must in time of crisis rely on its own stout hearts and ready hands for self-defense. Existing treaties are utterly worthless so far as concerns protecting any free, well-behaved people from one of the great aggressive military monarchies of the world. The all-inclusive arbitration treaties such as those recently negotiated by Messrs. Wilson and Bryan,

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

when taken in connection with our refusal to act under existing treaties, represent about the highest point of slightly mischievous fatuity which can be attained in international matters. Inasmuch as we ourselves are the power that initiated their negotiation, we can do our plain duty to ourselves and our neighbors only by ourselves proceeding from the outset on the theory, and by warning our neighbors, that these treaties in any time of crisis will certainly not be respected by any serious adversary, and probably will of necessity be violated by ourselves. They do not in even the very smallest degree relieve us of the necessity of preparedness for war. To this point of our duty to be prepared I will return later.

But we ought not to and must not rest content merely with working for our own defense. The utterly appalling calamity that has befallen the civilized world during the last five months, and, above all, the horrible catastrophe that has overwhelmed Belgium without Belgium's having the smallest responsibility in the matter, must make the least thoughtful realize how unsatisfactory is the present basis of international relations among civilized powers. In order to make things better several things are necessary. We must clearly grasp the fact that mere selfish avoidance of duty to others, even although covered by such fine words as "peace" and "neutrality," is a wretched thing and an obstacle to securing the peace of righteousness throughout the world. We must recognize clearly the old common-law doctrine that a right without a remedy is void. We must firmly grasp the fact that measures should be taken to put force back of good faith in the observance of treaties. The worth of treaties depends purely upon the good faith with which they are executed; and it is

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

mischievous folly to enter into treaties without providing for their execution and wicked folly to enter into them if they ought not to be executed.

It is necessary to devise means for putting the collective and efficient strength of all the great powers of civilization back of any well-behaved power which is wronged by another power. In other words, we must devise means for executing treaties in good faith, by the establishment of some great international tribunal, and by securing the enforcement of the decrees of this tribunal through the action of a posse comitatus of powerful and civilized nations, all of them being bound by solemn agreement to coerce any power that offends against the decrees of the tribunal. That there will be grave difficulties in successfully working out this plan I would be the first to concede, and I would be the first to insist that to work it out successfully would be impossible unless the nations acted in good faith. But the plan is feasible, and it is the only one which at the moment offers any chance of success. Ever since the days of Henry IV of France there has been a growth, slow and halting to be sure but yet evidently a growth, in recognition by the public conscience of civilized nations that there should be a method of making the rules of international morality obligatory and binding among the powers. But merely to trust to public opinion without organized force back of it is silly. Force must be put back of justice, and nations must not shrink from the duty of proceeding by any means that are necessary against wrong-doers. It is the failure to recognize these vital truths that has rendered the actions of our government during the last few years impotent to preserve world peace and fruitful only in earning for us the half-veiled derision of other nations.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

The attitude of the present administration during the last five months shows how worthless the present treaties, unbacked by force, are, and how utterly ineffective mere passive neutrality is to secure even the smallest advance in world morality. I have been very reluctant in any way to criticise the action of the present administration in foreign affairs; I have faithfully, and in some cases against my own deep-rooted personal convictions, sought to justify what it has done in Mexico and as regards the present war; but the time has come when loyalty to the administration's action in foreign affairs means disloyalty to our national self-interest and to our obligations toward humanity at large. As regards Belgium the administration has clearly taken the ground that our own selfish ease forbids us to fulfil our explicit obligations to small neutral states when they are deeply wronged. It will never be possible in any war to commit a clearer breach of international morality than that committed by Germany in the invasion and subjugation of Belgium. Every one of the nations involved in this war, and the United States as well, have committed such outrages in the past. But the very purpose of The Hague conventions and of all similar international agreements was to put a stop to such misconduct in the future.

At the outset I ask our people to remember that what I say is based on the assumption that we are bound in good faith to fulfil our treaty obligations; that we will neither favor nor condemn any other nation except on the ground of its behavior; that we feel as much goodwill to the people of Germany or Austria as to the people of England, of France, or of Russia; that we speak for Belgium only as we could speak for Holland or Switzerland or one of the Scandinavian or Balkan

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

nations; and that if the circumstances as regards Belgium had been reversed we would have protested as emphatically against wrong action by England or France as we now protest against wrong action by Germany.

The United States and the great powers now at war were parties to the international code created in the regulations annexed to The Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907. As President, acting on behalf of this government, and in accordance with the unanimous wish of our people, I ordered the signature of the United States to these conventions. Most emphatically I would not have permitted such a farce to have gone through if it had entered my head that this government would not consider itself bound to do all it could to see that the regulations to which it made itself a party were actually observed when the necessity for their observance arose. I cannot imagine any sensible nation thinking it worth while to sign future Hague conventions if even such a powerful neutral as the United States does not care enough about them to protest against their open breach. Of the present neutral powers the United States of America is the most disinterested and the strongest, and should therefore bear the main burden of responsibility in this matter.

It is quite possible to make an argument to the effect that we never should have entered into The Hague conventions, because our sole duty is to ourselves and not to others, and our sole concern should be to keep ourselves at peace, at any cost, and not to help other powers that are oppressed, and not to protest against wrongdoing. I do not myself accept this view; but in practice it is the view taken by the present administration, apparently with at the moment the approval of

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

the mass of our people. Such a policy, while certainly not exalted, and in my judgment neither far-sighted nor worthy of a high-spirited and lofty-souled nation, is yet in a sense understandable, and in a sense defensible.

But it is quite indefensible to make agreements and not live up to them. The climax of absurdity is for any administration to do what the present administration during the last five months has done. Mr. Wilson's administration has shirked doing the duty plainly imposed on it by the obligations of the conventions already entered into; and at the same time it has sought to obtain cheap credit by entering into a couple of score new treaties infinitely more drastic than the old ones, and quite impossible of honest fulfilment. When the Belgian people complained of violations of The Hague tribunal, it was a mockery, it was a timid and unworthy abandonment of duty on our part, for President Wilson to refer them back to The Hague court, when he knew that The Hague court was less than a shadow unless the United States by doing its clear duty gave The Hague court some substance. If The Hague conventions represented nothing but the expression of feeble aspirations toward decency, uttered only in time of profound peace, and not to be even expressed above a whisper when with awful bloodshed and suffering the conventions were broken, then it was idle folly to enter into them. If, on the other hand, they meant anything, if the United States had a serious purpose, a serious sense of its obligations to world righteousness, when it entered into them, then its plain duty as the trustee of civilization is to investigate the charges solemnly made as to the violation of The Hague conventions. If such investigation is made, and if the charges prove well

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

founded, then it is the duty of the United States to take whatever action may be necessary to vindicate the principles of international law set forth in these conventions.

I am not concerned with the charges of individual atrocity. The prime fact is that Belgium committed no offense whatever, and yet that her territory has been invaded and her people subjugated. This prime fact cannot be left out of consideration in dealing with any matter that has occurred in connection with it. Her neutrality has certainly been violated, and this is in clear violation of the fundamental principles of The Hague conventions. It appears clear that undefended towns have been bombarded, and that towns which were defended have been attacked with bombs at a time when no attack was made upon the defenses. This is certainly in contravention of The Hague agreement forbidding the bombardment of undefended towns. Illegal and excessive contributions are expressly condemned under Articles 49 and 52 of the conventions. If these articles do not forbid the levying of such sums as forty million dollars from Brussels and ninety million dollars from the province of Brabant, then the articles are absolutely meaningless. Articles 43 and 50 explicitly forbid the infliction of a collective penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, on a population on account of acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible. Either this prohibition is meaningless or it prohibits just such acts as the punitive destruction of Visé, Louvain, Aerschot, and Dinant. Furthermore, a great deal of the appalling devastation of central and eastern Belgium has been apparently terrorizing and not punitive in its purpose, and this is explicitly forbidden by The Hague conventions.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

Now, it may be that there is an explanation and justification for a portion of what has been done. But if The Hague conventions mean anything, and if bad faith in the observation of treaties is not to be treated with cynical indifference, then the United States Government should inform itself as to the facts, and should take whatever action is necessary in reference thereto. The extent to which the action should go may properly be a subject for discussion. But that there should be some action is beyond discussion; unless, indeed, we ourselves are content to take the view that treaties, conventions, and international engagements and agreements of all kinds are to be treated by us and by everybody else as what they have been authoritatively declared to be, "scraps of paper," the writing on which is intended for no better purpose than temporarily to amuse the feeble-minded.

If the above statements seem in the eyes of my German friends hostile to Germany, let me emphasize the fact that they are predicated upon a course of action which if extended and applied as it should be extended and applied would range the United States on the side of Germany if any such assault were made upon Germany as has been made upon Belgium, or if either Belgium or any of the other allies committed similar wrongdoing. Many Germans assert and believe that if Germany had not acted as she did France and England would have invaded Belgium and have committed similar wrongs. In such case it would have been our clear duty to behave toward them exactly as we ought now to behave toward Germany. But the fact that other powers might under other conditions do wrong, affords no justification for failure to act on the wrong that has actually been committed. It must always be kept in

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

mind, however, that we cannot expect the nation against whose actions we protest to accept our position as warranted, unless we make it clear that we have both the will and the power to interfere on behalf of that nation if in its turn it is oppressed. In other words, we must show that we believe in right and therefore in living up to our promises in good faith; and, furthermore, that we are both able and ready to put might behind right.

As I have before said, I think that the party in Germany which believes in a policy of aggression represents but a minority of the nation. It is powerful only because the great majority of the German people are rightfully in fear of aggression at the expense of Germany, and sanction striking only because they fear lest they themselves be struck. The greatest service that could be rendered to peace would be to convince Germany, as well as other powers, that in such event we would do all we could on behalf of the power that was wronged. Extremists in England, France, and Russia talk as if the proper outcome of the present war would be the utter dismemberment of Germany and her reduction to impotence such as that which followed for her upon the Thirty Years' War. I have actually received letters from Frenchmen and Englishmen upbraiding me for what they regard as a pro-German leaning in these articles I have written. To these well-meaning persons I can only say that Americans who remember the extreme bitterness felt by Northerners for Southerners, and Southerners for Northerners, at the end of the Civil War, are saddened but in nowise astonished that other peoples should show a like bitterness. I can only repeat that to dismember and hopelessly shatter Germany would be a frightful calamity for mankind, pre-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

cisely as the dismemberment and shattering of the British Empire or of the French Republic would be. It is right that the United States should regard primarily its own interests. But I believe that I speak for a considerable number of my countrymen when I say that we ought not solely to consider our own interests. Above all, we should not do as the present administration does; for it refuses to take any concrete action in favor of any nation which is wronged; and yet it also refuses to act so that we may ourselves be sufficient for our own protection.

We ought not to trust in words unbacked by deeds. We should be able to defend ourselves. We should also be ready and able to join in preventing the infliction of disaster of the kind of which I speak upon any civilized power, great or small, whether it be at the present time Belgium, or at some future day Germany or England, Holland, Sweden or Hungary, Russia or Japan.

So much for questions of international right, and of our duty to others in international affairs. Now for our duty to ourselves.

A sincere desire to act well toward other nations must not blind us to the fact that as yet the standard of international morality is both low and irregular. The behavior of the great military empires of the Old World, in reference to their treaty obligations and their moral obligations toward countries such as Belgium, Finland, and Korea, shows that it would be utter folly for us in any grave crisis to trust to anything save our own preparedness and resolution for our safety. The other day there appeared in the newspapers extracts from a translation of a report made by an officer of the Prussian army staff outlining the plan of operations by Germany in the event of war with America. Great surprise was

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

expressed by innocent Americans that such plans should be in existence, and certain gentlemen who speak for Germany denied that the report (which was printed and openly sold in Germany in pamphlet form) was "official." Neither the resentment expressed nor yet the denials were necessary. One feature of the admirable preparedness in which Germany and Japan stand so far above all other nations, and especially above our own, is their careful consideration of hostilities with all possible antagonists. Bernhardt's famous books treat of possible war with Austria, and possible attack by Austria upon Germany, although the prime lessons that they teach are those contained in the possibility of war as it has actually occurred, with Germany and Austria in alliance. This does not indicate German hostility to Austria; it merely indicates German willingness to look squarely in the face all possible facts. Of course, and quite properly, the German general staff has carefully considered the question of hostilities with America, and, of course, plans were drawn up with minute care and prevision at the time when there was friction between the two countries over Samoa, at the time when Admiral Dietrich clashed with Dewey in Manila Bay, and on the later occasion when there was friction in connection with Venezuela. This did not represent any special German ill-will toward America. It represented the common-sense—albeit somewhat cold-blooded—consideration of possibilities by Germany's rulers; and the failure to give this consideration would have reflected severely upon these rulers—although I do not regard some of the actions proposed as proper from the standpoint of warfare as the United States has practised it. To become angry because such plans exist would be childish. To fail to profit by our knowledge

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

that they certainly do exist would, however, be not merely childish but imbecile. I have myself become personally cognizant of the existence of such plans for operations against us, and of the larger features of their details, in two cases, affecting two different nations.

The essential feature of these plans was (and doubtless is) the seizure of some of our great coast cities and the terrorization of these cities so as to make them give enormous ransoms; ransoms of such size that our own country would be crippled, whereas our foes would be enabled to run the war against us with a handsome profit to themselves. These plans are based, of course, upon the belief that we have not sufficient foresight and intelligence to keep our navy in first-class condition, and upon not merely the belief but the knowledge that our Regular Army is so small and our utter unpreparedness otherwise so great that on land we would be entirely helpless against a moderate-sized expeditionary force belonging to any first-class military power. Foreign military and naval observers know well that our navy has been used during the last eighteen months in connection with the Mexican situation in such manner as to accomplish the minimum of results as regards Mexico, while at the same time to do the maximum of damage in interrupting the manœuvring and the gun practice of our fleets. They regard Messrs. Wilson and Bryan as representative of the American people in their entire inability to understand the real nature of the forces that underlie international relations and the importance of preparedness. They are entirely cold-blooded in their views of us. Foreign rulers may despise us for our supine unpreparedness, and for our readiness to make treaties, taken together with our re-

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

fusal to fulfil these treaties by seeking to avert wrong done to others. But their contempt will not prevent their using this nation as arbiter in order to bring about peace if to do so suits their purposes; and if, on the contrary, one or the other of the several great military empires becomes the world mistress as the result of this war, that power will infringe our rights whenever and to the extent that it deems it advantageous to do so, and will make war upon us whenever it believes that such war will be to its own advantage.

In the event of such a war against us it is well to remember that the spiritless and selfish type of neutrality which we have observed in the present war will be remembered by all other nations on whichever side they have been engaged in this contest, and will give each of them more or less satisfaction in the event of disaster befalling us. These nations, if they come to a deadlock as the result of this war, will not be withheld by any sentiment of indignation against or contempt for us from utilizing the services of the President as a medium for bringing about peace, if this seems the most convenient method of getting peace. But, whether they do this or not, they will retain a smouldering ill-will toward us, one and all of them; and if we were assailed it would be utterly Quixotic, utterly foolish of any one of them to come to our aid no matter what wrongs were inflicted upon us. It would be quite impossible for any power to treat us worse than Belgium has been treated by Germany or to attack us with less warrant than was shown when Belgium was attacked. Bombs have been continually dropped by the Germans in the city of Paris and in other cities, wrecking private houses and killing men, women, and children at a time when there was no pretense that any military attacks were being made

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

upon the cities, or that any other object was served than that of terrorizing the civilian population. Cities have been destroyed and others held to huge ransom. All these practices are forbidden by The Hague conventions. Inasmuch as we have not made a single protest against them when other powers have suffered, it would be both ridiculous and humiliating for us to make even the slightest appeal for assistance or to expect any assistance from any other powers if ever we in our turn suffer in like fashion. It would be purely our affair. We would have no right to expect that other powers would take the kind of action which we ourselves have refused to take. It would be our time to take our medicine, and it would be folly and cowardice to make wry faces over it or to expect sympathy, still less aid, from outsiders. As I have already stated, my own view is most strongly that, if we are assailed in accordance with the plans of foreign powers above mentioned, it would be our business positively to refuse to allow any city to ransom itself, and sternly to accept the destruction of New York, or San Francisco, or any other city as the alternative of such ransom. Our duty would be to accept these disasters as the payment rightfully due from us to fate for our folly in having listened to the clamor of the feeble folk among the ultrapacifists, and in having indorsed the unspeakable silliness of the policy contained in the proposed all-inclusive arbitration treaties of Mr. Taft and in the accomplished all-inclusive arbitration treaties of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan.

I very earnestly hope that this nation will ultimately adopt a dignified and self-respecting policy in international affairs. I earnestly hope that ultimately we shall live up to every international obligation we have undertaken—exactly as we did live up to them during the

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

seven and a half years while I was President. I earnestly hope that we shall ourselves become one of the joint guarantors of world peace under such a plan as that I in this book outline, and that we shall hold ourselves ready and willing to act as a member of the international posse comitatus to enforce the peace of righteousness as against any offender big or small. This would mean a great practical stride toward relief from the burden of excessive military preparation. It would mean that a long step had been taken toward at least minimizing and restricting the area and extent of possible warfare. It would mean that all liberty-loving and enlightened peoples, great and small, would be freed from the haunting nightmare of terror which now besets them when they think of the possible conquest of their land.

Until this can be done we owe it to ourselves as a nation effectively to safeguard ourselves against all likelihood of disaster at the hands of a foreign foe. We should bring our navy up to the highest point of preparedness, we should handle it purely from military considerations, and should see that the training was never intermitted. We should make our little regular army larger and more effective than at present. We should provide for it an adequate reserve. In addition, I most heartily believe that we should return to the ideal held by our people in the days of Washington although never lived up to by them. We should follow the example of such typical democracies as Switzerland and Australia and provide and require military training for all our young men. Switzerland's efficient army has unquestionably been the chief reason why in this war there has been no violation of her neutrality. Australia's system of military training has enabled her at

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

once to ship large bodies of first-rate fighting men to England's aid. Our northern neighbors have done even better than Australia; perhaps special mention should be made of St. John, Newfoundland, which has sent to the front one in five of her adult male population, a larger percentage than any other city of the empire; a feat probably due to the fact that in practically all her schools there is good military training, while her young men have much practice in shooting-tournaments. England at the moment is saved from the fate of Belgium only because of her navy; and the small size of her army, her lack of arms, her lack of previous preparations doubtless afford the chief reason why this war has occurred at all at this time. There would probably have been no war if England had followed the advice so often urged on her by the lamented Lord Roberts, for in that case she would have been able immediately to put in the field an army as large and effective as, for instance, that of France.

Training of our young men in field manœuvres and in marksmanship, as is done in Switzerland, and to a slightly less extent in Australia, would be of immense advantage to the physique and morale of our whole population. It would not represent any withdrawal of our population from civil pursuits, such as occurs among the great military states of the European Continent. In Switzerland, for instance, the ground training is given in the schools, and the young man after graduating serves only some four months with the branch of the army to which he is attached, and after that only about eight days a year, not counting his rifle practice. All serve alike, rich and poor, without any exceptions; and all whom I have ever met, the poor even more than the rich, are enthusiastic over the beneficial effects of the

INTERNATIONAL POSSE COMITATUS

service and the increase in self-reliance, self-respect, and efficiency which it has brought. The utter worthlessness of make-believe soldiers who have not been trained, and who are improvised on the Wilson-Bryan theory, will be evident to any one who cares to read such works as Professor Johnson's recent volume on Bull Run. Our people should make a thorough study of the Swiss and Australian systems, and then adapt them to our own use. To do so would not be a stride toward war, as the feeble folk among the ultrapacifists would doubtless maintain. It would be the most effectual possible guaranty that peace would dwell within our borders; and it would also make it possible for us not only to insure peace for ourselves, but to have our words carry weight if we spoke against the commission of wrong and injustice at the expense of others.

But we must always remember that no institutions will avail unless the private citizen has the right spirit. When a leading congressman, himself with war experience, shows conclusively in open speech in the House that we are utterly unprepared to do our duty to ourselves if assailed, President Wilson answers him with a cheap sneer, with unworthy levity; and the repeated warnings of General Wood are treated with the same indifference. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this attitude on the part of our public servants really represents the real convictions of the average American. The ideal citizen of a free state must have in him the stuff which in time of need will enable him to show himself a first-class fighting man who scorns either to endure or to inflict wrong. American society is sound at core and this means that at the bottom we, as a people, accept as the basis of sound morality not slothful ease and soft selfishness and the loud timidity that fears every

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

species of risk and hardship, but the virile strength of manliness which clings to the ideal of stern, unflinching performance of duty, and which follows whithersoever that ideal may lead.

VIII

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

THE other day one of the typical ultrapacifists or peace-at-any-price men put the ultrapacifist case quite clearly, both in a statement of his own and by a quotation of what he called the "golden words" of Mr. Bryan at Mohonk. In arguing that we should under no conditions fight for our rights, and that we should make no preparation whatever to secure ourselves against wrong, this writer pointed out China as the proper model for America. He did this on the ground that China, which did not fight, was yet "older" than Rome, Greece, and Germany, which had fought, and that its example was therefore to be preferred.

This, of course, is a position which saves the need of argument. If the average American wants to be a Chinaman, if China represents his ideal, then he should by all means follow the advice of pacifists like the writer in question and be a supporter of Mr. Bryan. If any man seriously believes that China has played a nobler and more useful part in the world than Athens and Rome and Germany, then he is quite right to try to Chinafy the United States. In such event he must of course believe that all the culture, all the literature, all the art, all the political and cultural liberty and social well-being, which modern Europe and the two Americas have inherited from Rome and Greece, and that all that has been done by Germany from the days of Charlemagne to the present time, represent mere error and confusion. He must believe that the average

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

German or Frenchman or Englishman or inhabitant of North or South America occupies a lower moral, intellectual, and physical status than the average coolie who with his fellows composes the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. To my mind such a proposition is unfit for debate outside of certain types of asylum. But those who sincerely take the view that this gentleman takes are unquestionably right in copying China in every detail, and nothing that I can say will appeal to them.

The "golden words" of Mr. Bryan were as follows:

"I believe that this nation could stand before the world to-day and tell the world that it did not believe in war, that it did not believe that it was the right way to settle disputes, that it had no disputes which it was not willing to submit to the judgment of the world. If this nation did that, it not only would not be attacked by any other nation on the earth, but it would become the supreme power in the world."

Of course, it is to be assumed that Mr. Bryan means what he says. If he does, then he is willing to submit to arbitration the question whether the Japanese have or have not the right to send unlimited numbers of immigrants to this shore. If Mr. Bryan does not mean this, among other specific things, then the "golden words" in question represent merely the emotionalism of the professional orator. Of course, if Mr. Bryan means what he says, he also believes that we should not have interfered in Cuba and that Cuba ought now to be the property of Spain. He also believes that we ought to have permitted Colombia to reconquer and deprive of their independence the people of Panama, and that we should not have built the Panama Canal. He also believes that California and Texas ought now

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

to be parts of Mexico, enjoying whatever blessings complete abstinence from foreign war has secured that country during the last three years. He also believes that the Declaration of Independence was an arbitrable matter and that the United States ought now to be a dependency of Great Britain. Unless Mr. Bryan does believe all of these things then his "golden words" represent only a rhetorical flourish. He is secretary of state and the right-hand man of President Wilson, and President Wilson is completely responsible for whatever he says and for the things he does—or rather which he leaves undone.

Now, it is quite useless for me to write with any view to convincing gentlemen like Mr. Bryan and the writer in question. If they really do represent our fellow countrymen, then they are right in holding up China as our ideal; not the modern China, not the China that is changing and moving forward, but old China. In such event Americans ought frankly to class themselves with the Chinese. That is where, on this theory, they belong. If this is so, then let us fervently pray that the Japanese or Germans or some other virile people that does not deify moral, mental, and physical impotence, may speedily come to rule over us.

I am, however, writing on the assumption that Americans are still on the whole like their forefathers who followed Washington, and like their fathers who fought in the armies of Grant and Lee. I am writing on the assumption that, even though temporarily misled, they will not permanently and tamely submit to oppression, and that they will ultimately think intelligently as to what they should do to safeguard themselves against aggression. I abhor unjust war, and I deplore that the need even for just war should ever occur. I believe we

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

should set our faces like flint against any policy of aggression by this country on the rights of any other country. But I believe that we should look facts in the face. I believe that it is unworthy weakness to fear to face the truth. Moreover, I believe that we should have in us that fibre of manhood which will make us follow duty whithersoever it may lead. Unquestionably, we should render all the service it is in our power to render to righteousness. To do this we must be able to back righteousness with force, to put might back of right. It may well be that by following out this theory we can in the end do our part in conjunction with other nations of the world to bring about, if not—as I hope—a world peace, yet at least an important minimizing of the chances for war and of the areas of possible war. But meanwhile it is absolutely our duty to prepare for our own defense.

This country needs something like the Swiss system of war training for its young men. Switzerland is one of the most democratic governments in the world, and it has given its young men such an efficient training as to insure entire preparedness for war, without suffering from the least touch of militarism. Switzerland is at peace now primarily because all the great military nations that surround it know that its people have no intention of making aggression on anybody and yet that they are thoroughly prepared to hold their own and are resolute to fight to the last against any invader who attempts either to subjugate their territory or by violating its neutrality to make it a battle-ground.

A bishop of the Episcopal Church recently wrote me as follows:

“How lamentable that we should stand idle, making no preparations to enforce peace, and crying ‘peace’

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

when there is none! I have scant sympathy for the short-sightedness of those who decry preparation for war as a means of preventing it."

The manager of a land company in Alabama writes me urging that some one speak for reasonable preparedness on the part of the nation. He states that it is always possible that we shall be engaged in hostilities with some first-class power, that he hopes and believes that war will never come, but adds:

"I may not believe that my home will burn down or that I am going to die within the period of my expectancy, but nevertheless I carry fire and life insurance to the full insurable value on my property and on my life to the extent of my ability. The only insurance of our liberties as a people is full preparation for a defense adequate against any attack and made in time to fully meet any attack. We do not *know* the attack is coming; but to wait until it does come will be too late. Our present weakness lies in the wide-spread opinion among our people that this country is invincible because of its large population and vast resources. This I believe is true if, and only if, we use these resources or a small part of them to protect the major part, and if we train at least a part of our people how to defend the nation. Under existing conditions we can hardly hope to have an effective army in the field in less time than eight or ten months. To-day not one per cent of our people know anything about rifle-shooting."

I quote these two out of many letters, because they sum up the general feeling of men of vision. Both of my correspondents are most sincerely for peace. No man can possibly be more anxious for peace than I am. I ask those individuals who think of me as a firebrand to remember that during the seven and a half years I

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

was President not a shot was fired at any soldier of a hostile nation by any American soldier or sailor, and there was not so much as a threat of war. Even when the state of Panama threw off the alien yoke of Colombia and when this nation, acting as was its manifest duty, by recognizing Panama as an independent state stood for the right of the governed to govern themselves on the Isthmus, as well as for justice and humanity, there was not a shot fired by any of our people at any Colombian. The blood recently shed at Vera Cruz, like the unpunished wrongs recently committed on our people in Mexico, had no parallel during my administration. When I left the presidency there was not a cloud on the horizon—and one of the reasons why there was not a cloud on the horizon was that the American battle fleet had just returned from its sixteen months' trip around the world, a trip such as no other battle fleet of any power had ever taken, which it had not been supposed could be taken, and which exercised a greater influence for peace than all the peace congresses of the last fifty years. With Lowell I most emphatically believe that peace is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards; and the fool and the weakling are no improvement on the coward.

Nineteen centuries ago in the greatest of all books we were warned that whoso loses his life for righteousness shall save it and that he who seeks to save it shall lose it. The ignoble and abject gospel of those who would teach us that it is preferable to endure disgrace and discredit than to run any risk to life or limb would defeat its own purpose; for that kind of submission to wrongdoing merely invites further wrongdoing, as has been shown a thousand times in history and as is shown by the case of China in our own days. Moreover, our

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

people, however ill-prepared, would never consent to such abject submission; and indeed as a matter of fact our publicists and public men and our newspapers, instead of being too humble and submissive, are only too apt to indulge in very offensive talk about foreign nations. Of all the nations of the world we are the one that combines the greatest amount of wealth with the smallest ability to defend that wealth. Surely one does not have to read history very much or ponder over philosophy a great deal in order to realize the truth that the one certain way to invite disaster is to be opulent, offensive, and unarmed. There is utter inconsistency between the ideal of making this nation the foremost commercial power in the world and of disarmament in the face of an armed world. There is utter inconsistency between the ideal of making this nation a power for international righteousness and at the same time refusing to make us a power efficient in anything save empty treaties and emptier promises.

I do not believe in a large standing army. Most emphatically I do not believe in militarism. Most emphatically I do not believe in any policy of aggression by us. But I do believe that no man is really fit to be the free citizen of a free republic unless he is able to bear arms and at need to serve with efficiency in the efficient army of the republic. This is no new thing with me. For years I have believed that the young men of the country should know how to use a rifle, and should have a short period of military training which, while not taking them for any length of time from civil pursuits, would make them quickly capable of helping defend the country in case of need. When I was governor of New York, acting in conjunction with the administration at Washington under President McKinley, I secured the

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

sending abroad of one of the best officers in the New York National Guard, Colonel William Cary Sanger, to study the Swiss system. As President I had to devote my attention chiefly to getting the navy built up. But surely the sight of what has happened abroad ought to awaken our people to the need of action, not only as regards our navy but as regards our land-forces also.

Australia has done well in this respect. But Switzerland has worked out a comprehensive scheme with practical intelligence. She has not only solved the question of having men ready to fight, but she has solved the question of having arms to give these men. At present England is in more difficulty about arms than about men, and some of her people when sent to the front were armed with hunting-rifles. Our own shortcomings are far greater. Indeed, they are so lamentable that it is hard to believe that our citizens as a whole know them. To equip half the number of men whom even the British now have in the field would tax our factories to the limit. In Switzerland, during the last two or three years of what corresponds to our high-school work the boy is thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of military training, discipline, and marksmanship. When he graduates he is put for some four to six months in the army to receive exactly the training he would get in time of war. After that he serves eight days a year and in addition often joins with his fellows in practising at a mark. He keeps his rifle and accoutrements in his home and is responsible for their condition. Efficiency is the watchword of Switzerland, and not least in its army. At the outbreak of this terrible war Switzerland was able to mobilize her forces in the corner of her territory between France and Germany as quickly as either

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

of the great combatants could theirs; and no one trespassed upon her soil.

The Swiss training does not to any appreciable extent take the man away from his work. But it does make him markedly more efficient for his work. The training he gets and his short service with the colors render him appreciably better able to do whatever his job in life is, and, in addition, benefit his health and spirits. The service is a holiday, and a holiday of the best because of the most useful type.

There is no reason whatever why Americans should be unwilling or unable to do what Switzerland has done. We are a far wealthier country than Switzerland and could afford without the slightest strain the very trifling expense and the trifling consumption of time rendered necessary by such a system. It has really nothing in common with the universal service in the great conscript armies of the military powers. No man would be really taken out of industry. On the contrary, the average man would probably be actually benefited so far as doing his life-work is concerned. The system would be thoroughly democratic in its workings. No man would be exempted from the work and all would have to perform the work alike. It would be entirely possible to arrange that there should be a certain latitude as to the exact year when the four or six months' service was given.

Officers, of course, would need a longer training than the men. This could readily be furnished either by allowing numbers of extra students to take partial or short-term courses at West Point or by specifying optional courses in the high schools, the graduates of these special courses being tested carefully in their field-work and being required to give extra periods of service and

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

being under the rigid supervision of the Regular Army. There could also be opportunities for promotion from the ranks for any one who chose to take the time and the trouble to fit himself.

The four or six months' service with the colors would be for the most part in the open field. The drill hall and the parade-ground do not teach more than five per cent of what a soldier must actually know. Any man who has had any experience with ordinary organizations of the National Guard when taken into camp knows that at first only a very limited number of the men have any idea of taking care of themselves and that the great majority suffer much from dyspepsia, just because they do not know how to take care of themselves. The soldier needs to spend some months in actual campaign practice under canvas with competent instructors before he gets to know his duty. If, however, he has had previous training in the schools of such a type as that given in Switzerland and then has this actual practice, he remains for some years efficient with no more training than eight or ten days a year.

The training must be given in large bodies. It is essential that men shall get accustomed to the policing and sanitary care of camps in which there are masses of soldiers. Moreover, officers and especially the higher officers are wholly useless in war-time unless they are accustomed to handle masses of men in co-operation with one another.

There are small sections of our population out of which it is possible to improvise soldiers in a short time. Men who are accustomed to ride and to shoot and to live in the open and who are hardy and enduring and by nature possess the fighting edge already know most of what it is necessary that an infantryman or cavalryman should know, and they can be taught the remainder

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

in a very short time by good officers. Morgan's Virginia Riflemen, Andrew Jackson's Tennesseans, Forrest's Southwestern Cavalry were all men of this kind; but even such men are of real use only after considerable training or else if their leaders are born fighters and masters of men. Such leaders are rare. The ordinary dweller in civilization has to be taught to shoot, to walk (or ride if he is in the cavalry), to cook for himself, to make himself comfortable in the open, and to take care of his feet and his health generally. Artillerymen and engineers need long special training.

It may well be that the Swiss on an average can be made into good troops quicker than our own men; but most assuredly there would be numbers of Americans who would not be behind the Swiss in such a matter. A body of volunteers of the kind I am describing would of course not be as good as a body of regulars of the same size, but they would be immeasurably better than the average soldiers produced by any system we now have or ever have had in connection with our militia. Our Regular Army would be strengthened by them at the very beginning and would be set free in its entirety for immediate aggressive action; and in addition a levy in mass of the young men of the right age would mean that two or three million troops were put into the field, who, although not as good as regulars, would at once be available in numbers sufficient to overwhelm any expeditionary force which it would be possible for any military power to send to our shores. The existence of such a force would render the immediate taking of cities like San Francisco, New York, or Boston an impossibility and would free us from all danger from sudden raids and make it impossible even for an army corps to land with any prospect of success.

Our people are so entirely unused to things military

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

that it is probably difficult for the average man to get any clear idea of our shortcomings. Unlike what is true in the military nations of the Old World, here the ordinary citizen takes no interest in the working of our War Department in time of peace. No President gains the slightest credit for himself by paying attention to it. Then when a crisis comes and the War Department breaks down, instead of the people accepting what has happened with humility as due to their own fault during the previous two or three decades, there is a roar of wrath against the unfortunate man who happens to be in office at the time. There was such a roar of wrath against Secretary Alger in the Spanish War. Now, as a matter of fact, ninety per cent of our shortcomings when the war broke out with Spain could not have been remedied by any action on the part of the secretary of war. They were due to what had been done ever since the close of the Civil War.

We were utterly unprepared. There had been no real manœuvring of so much as a brigade and very rarely had any of our generals commanded even a good-sized regiment in the field. The enlisted men and the junior officers of the Regular Army were good. Most of the officers above the rank of captain were nearly worthless. There were striking exceptions of course, but, taking the average, I really believe that it would have been on the whole to the advantage of our army in 1898 if all the regular officers above the rank of captain had been retired and if all the captains who were unfit to be placed in the higher positions had also been retired. The lieutenants were good. The lack of administrative skill was even more marked than the lack of military skill. No one who saw the congestion of trains, supplies, animals, and men at Tampa will ever forget the impres-

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

sion of helpless confusion that it gave him. The volunteer forces included some organizations and multitudes of individuals offering first-class material. But, as a whole, the volunteer army would have been utterly helpless against any efficient regular force at the outset of the 1898 war, probably almost as inefficient as were the two armies which fought one another at Bull Run in 1861. Even the efficiency of the Regular Army itself was such merely by comparison with the volunteers. I do not believe that any army in the world offered finer material than was offered by the junior officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army which disembarked on Cuban soil in June, 1898; and by the end of the next two weeks probably the average individual infantry or cavalry organization therein was at least as good as the average organization of the same size in an Old World army. But taking the army as a whole and considering its management from the time it began to assemble at Tampa until the surrender of Santiago, I seriously doubt if it was as efficient as a really good European or Japanese army of half the size. Since then we have made considerable progress. Our little army of occupation that went to Cuba at the time of the revolution in Cuba ten years ago was thoroughly well handled and did at least as well as any foreign force of the same size could have done. But it did not include ten thousand men, that is, it did not include as many men as the smallest military power in Europe would assemble any day for manœuvres.

This is no new thing in our history. If only we were willing to learn from our defeats and failures instead of paying heed purely to our successes, we would realize that what I have above described is one of the common phases of our history. In the War of 1812, at the out-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

set of the struggle, American forces were repeatedly beaten, as at Niagara and Bladensburg, by an enemy one-half or one-quarter the strength of the American army engaged. Yet two years later these same American troops on the northern frontier, when trained and commanded by Brown, Scott, and Ripley, proved able to do what the finest troops of Napoleon were unable to do, that is, meet the British regulars on equal terms in the open; and the Tennessee backwoodsmen and Louisiana volunteers, when mastered and controlled by the iron will and warlike genius of Andrew Jackson, performed at New Orleans a really great feat. During the year 1812 the American soldiers on shore suffered shameful and discreditable defeats, and yet their own brothers at sea won equally striking victories, and this because the men on shore were utterly unprepared and because the men at sea had been thoroughly trained and drilled long in advance.

Exactly the same lessons are taught by the histories of other nations. When, during the Napoleonic wars, a small force of veteran French soldiers landed in Ireland they defeated without an effort five times their number of British and Irish troops at Castlebar. Yet the men whom they thus drove in wild flight were the own brothers of and often the very same men who a few years later, under Wellington, proved an overmatch for the flower of the French forces. The nation that waits until the crisis is upon it before taking measures for its own safety pays heavy toll in the blood of its best and its bravest and in bitter shame and humiliation. Small is the comfort it can then take from the memory of the times when the noisy and feeble folk in its own ranks cried "Peace, peace," without taking one practical step to secure peace.

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

We can never follow out a worthy national policy, we can never be of benefit to others or to ourselves, unless we keep steadily in view as our ideal that of the just man armed, the man who is fearless, self-reliant, ready, because he has prepared himself for possible contingencies; the man who is scornful alike of those who would advise him to do wrong and of those who would advise him tamely to suffer wrong. The great war now being waged in Europe and the fact that no neutral nation has ventured to make even the smallest effort to alleviate* or even to protest against the wrongs that have been done show with lamentable clearness that all the peace congresses of the past fifteen years have accomplished precisely and exactly nothing so far as any great crisis is concerned. Fundamentally this is because they have confined themselves to mere words, seemingly without realizing that mere words are utterly useless unless translated into deeds and that an ounce of promise which is accompanied by provision for a similar ounce of effective performance is worth at least a ton of promise as to which no effective method of performance is provided. Furthermore, a very serious blunder has been to treat peace as the end instead of righteousness as the end. The greatest soldier-patriots of history, Timoleon, John Hampden, Andreas Hofer, Koerner, the great patriot-statesman-soldiers like Washing-

* The much advertised sending of food and supplies to Belgium has been of most benefit to the German conquerors of Belgium. They have taken the money and food of the Belgians and permitted the Belgians to be supported by outsiders. Of course, it was far better to send them food, even under such conditions, than to let them starve; but the professional pacifists would do well to ponder the fact that if the neutral nations had been willing to prevent the invasion of Belgium, which could only be done by willingness and ability to use force, they would by this act of "war" have prevented more misery and suffering to innocent men, women, and children than the organized charity of all the "peaceful" nations of the world can now remove.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

ton, the great patriot-statesmen like Lincoln whose achievements for good depended upon the use of soldiers, have all achieved their immortal claim to the gratitude of mankind by what they did in just war. To condemn war in terms which include the wars these men waged or took part in precisely as they include the most wicked and unjust wars of history is to serve the devil and not God.

Again, these peace people have persistently and resolutely blinked facts. One of the peace congresses sat in New York at the very time that the feeling in California about the Japanese question gravely threatened the good relations between ourselves and the great empire of Japan. The only thing which at the moment could practically be done for the cause of peace was to secure some proper solution of the question at issue between ourselves and Japan. But this represented real effort, real thought. The peace congress paid not the slightest serious attention to the matter and instead devoted itself to listening to speeches which favored the abolition of the United States navy and even in one case the prohibiting the use of tin soldiers in nurseries because of the militaristic effect on the minds of the little boys and girls who played with them!

Ex-President Taft has recently said that it is hysterical to endeavor to prepare against war; and he at the same time explained that the only real possibility of war was to be found "in the wanton, reckless, wicked willingness on the part of a narrow section of the country to gratify racial prejudice and class hatred by flagrant breach of treaty right in the form of State law." This characterization is, of course, aimed at the State of California for its action toward the Japanese. If—which may Heaven forfend—any trouble comes because

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

of the action of California toward the Japanese, a prime factor in producing it will be the treaty negotiated four years ago with Japan; and no clearer illustration can be given of the mischief that comes to our people from the habit our public men have contracted of getting cheap applause for themselves by making treaties which they know to be shams, which they know cannot be observed. The result of such action is that there is one set of real facts, those that actually exist and must be reckoned with, and another set of make-believe facts which do not exist except on pieces of paper or in after-dinner speeches, which are known to be false but which serve to deceive well-meaning pacifists. Four years ago there was in existence a long-standing treaty with Japan under which we reserved the right to keep out Japanese laborers. Every man of any knowledge whatever of conditions on the Pacific slope, and, indeed, generally throughout this country, knew, and knows now, that any immigration in mass to this country of the Japanese, whether the immigrants be industrial laborers or men whose labor takes the form of agricultural work or even the form of small shopkeeping, was and is absolutely certain to produce trouble of the most dangerous kind. The then administration entered on a course of conduct as regards Manchuria which not only deeply offended the Japanese but actually achieved the result of uniting the Russians and Japanese against us. To make amends for this serious blunder the administration committed the far worse blunder of endeavoring to placate Japanese opinion by the negotiation of a new treaty in which our right to exclude Japanese laborers, that is, to prevent Japanese immigration in mass, was abandoned. The extraordinary and lamentable fact in the matter was that the California senators acqui-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

esced in the treaty. Apparently they took the view, which so many of our public men do take and which they are encouraged to take by the unwisdom of those who demand impossible treaties, that they were perfectly willing to please some people by passing the treaty because, if necessary, the opponents of the treaty could at any time be placated by its violation. One item in securing their support was the statement by the then administration that the Japanese authorities had said that they would promise under a "gentlemen's agreement" to keep the immigrants out if only they were by treaty given the right to let them in. Under the preceding treaty, during my administration, the Japanese Government had made and had in good faith kept such an agreement, the agreement being that as long as the Japanese Government itself kept out Japanese immigrants and thereby relieved us of the necessity of passing any law to exclude them, no such law would be passed. Apparently the next administration did not perceive the fathomless difference between retaining the power to enact a law which was not enacted as long as no necessity for enacting it arose, and abandoning the power, surrendering the right, and trusting that the necessity to exercise it would not arise.

I immensely admire and respect the Japanese people. I prize their good-will. I am proud of my personal relations with some of their leading men. Fifty years ago there was no possible community between the Japanese and ourselves. The events of the last fifty years have been so extraordinary that now Japanese statesmen, generals, artists, writers, scientific men, business men, can meet our corresponding men on terms of entire equality. I am fortunate enough to have a number of Japanese friends. I value their friendship. They and

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

I meet on a footing of absolute equality, socially, politically, and in every other way. I respect and regard them precisely as in the case of my German and Russian, French and English friends. But there is no use blinking the truth because it is unpleasant. As yet the differences between the Japanese who work with their hands and the Americans who work with their hands are such that it is absolutely impossible for them, when brought into contact with one another in great numbers, to get on. Japan would not permit any immigration in mass of our people into her territory, and it is wholly inadvisable that there should be such immigration of her people into our territory. This is not because either side is inferior to the other but because they are different. As a matter of fact, these differences are sometimes in favor of the Japanese and sometimes in favor of the Americans. But they are so marked that at this time, whatever may be the case in the future, friction and trouble are certain to come if there is any immigration in mass of Japanese into this country, exactly as friction and trouble have actually come in British Columbia from this cause, and have been prevented from coming in Australia only by the most rigid exclusion laws. Under these conditions the way to avoid trouble is not by making believe that things which are not so are so but by courteously and firmly facing the situation. The two nations should be given absolutely reciprocal treatment. Students, statesmen, publicists, scientific men, all travellers, whether for business or pleasure, and all men engaged in international business, whether Japanese or American, should have absolute right of entry into one another's countries and should be treated with the highest consideration while therein, but no settlement in mass

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

should be permitted of the people of either country in the other country. All travelling and sojourning by the people of either country in the other country should be encouraged, but there should be no immigration of workers to, no settlement in, either country by the people of the other. I advocate this solution, which for years I have advocated, because I am not merely a friend but an intense admirer of Japan, because I am most anxious that America should learn from Japan the great amount that Japan can teach us, and because I wish to work for the best possible feeling between the two countries. Each country has interests in the Pacific which can best be served by their cordial co-operation on a footing of frank and friendly equality; and in eastern Asiatic waters the interest and therefore the proper dominance of Japan are and will be greater than those of any other nation. If such a plan as that above advocated were once adopted by both our nations all sources of friction between the two countries would vanish at once. Ultimately I have no question that all restrictions of movement from one country to the other could be dispensed with. But to attempt to dispense with them in our day and our generation will fail; and even worse failure will attend the attempt to make believe to dispense with them while not doing so.

It is eminently necessary that the United States should in good faith observe its treaties, and it is therefore eminently necessary not to pass treaties which it is absolutely certain will not be obeyed, and which themselves provoke disobedience to them. The height of folly, of course, is to pass treaties which will not be obeyed and the disregard of which may cause the gravest possible trouble, even war, and at the same time to refuse to prepare for war and to pass other foolish

SELF-DEFENSE WITHOUT MILITARISM

treaties calculated to lure our people into the belief that there will never be war.

I advocate that our preparedness take such shape as to fit us to resist aggression, not to encourage us in aggression. I advocate preparedness that will enable us to defend our own shores and to defend the Panama Canal and Hawaii and Alaska, and prevent the seizure of territory at the expense of any commonwealth of the western hemisphere by any military power of the Old World. I advocate this being done in the most democratic manner possible. We Americans do not realize how fundamentally democratic our army really is. When I served in Cuba it was under General Sam Young and alongside of General Adna Chaffee. Both had entered the American army as enlisted men in the Civil War. Later, as President, I made both of them in succession lieutenant-generals and commanders of the army. On the occasion when General Chaffee was to appear at the White House for the first time as lieutenant-general, General Young sent him his own starred shoulder-straps with a little note saying that they were from "Private Young, '61, to Private Chaffee, '61." Both of the fine old fellows represented the best type of citizen-soldier. Each was simply and sincerely devoted to peace and justice. Each was incapable of advocating our doing wrong to others. Neither could have understood willingness on the part of any American to see the United States submit tamely to insult or injury. Both typified the attitude that we Americans should take in our dealings with foreign countries.

IX

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

THE course of the present administration in foreign affairs has now and then combined officiously offensive action toward foreign powers with tame submission to wrong-doing by foreign powers. As a nation we have refused to do our duty to others and yet we have at times tamely submitted to wrong at the hands of others. This has been notably true of our conduct in Mexico; and we have come perilously near such conduct in the case of Japan. It is also true of our activities as regards the European War. We failed to act in accordance with our obligations as a signatory power to The Hague treaties. In addition to the capital crime committed against Belgium we have seen outrage after outrage perpetrated in violation of The Hague conventions, and yet the administration has never ventured so much as a protest. It has even at times, and with wavering and vacillation, adopted policies unjust to one or the other of the two sets of combatants. But it has immediately abandoned these policies when the combatants in violent and improper fashion overrode them; and it has submitted with such tame servility to whatever the warring nations have dictated that in effect we see, as Theodore Woolsey, the expert on international law, has pointed out, the American Government protecting belligerent interests abroad at the expense of neutral interests both at home and abroad. Not since the Napoleonic wars have belligerents acted with such

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

high-handed disregard of the rights of neutrals. Germany was the first and greatest offender; and when we failed to protest in her case the administration perhaps felt ashamed to protest, felt that it was estopped from protesting, in other cases. England in its turn has violated our neutrality rights, and while exercising both force and ingenuity in making this violation effective has protested as if she herself were the injured party. As a matter of fact, England and France should note that in view of their command of the seas our war trade is of such value to them that certain congressmen, whose interest in Germany surpasses their interest in the United States, have sought by law totally to prohibit it. This proposed—and thoroughly improper—action is a sufficient answer to the charges of the Allies, and should remind them how ill they requite the service rendered by our merchants when they seek to block all our intercourse with other nations. They, however, are only to be blamed for short-sightedness; there is no reason why they should pay heed to American interests. But the administration should represent American interests; it should see that while we perform our duties as neutrals we should be protected in our rights as neutrals; and one of these rights is the trade in contraband. To prohibit this is to take part in the war for the benefit of one belligerent at the expense of another and to our own cost.

Of course it would be an ignoble action on our part after having conspicuously failed to protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality to show ourselves over-eager to protest against comparatively insignificant violations of our own neutral rights. But we should never have put ourselves in such a position as to make insistence on our own rights seem disregard for the

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

rights of others. The proper course for us to pursue was, on the one hand, scrupulously to see that we did not so act as to injure any contending nation, unless required to do so in the name of morality and of our solemn treaty obligations, and also fearlessly to act on behalf of other nations which were wronged, as required by these treaty obligations; and, on the other hand, with courteous firmness to warn any nation which, for instance, seized or searched our ships against the accepted rules of international conduct that this we could not permit and that such a course should not be persevered in by any nation which desired our good-will. I believe I speak for at least a considerable portion of our people when I say that we wish to make it evident that we feel sincere good-will toward all nations; that any action we take against any nation is taken with the greatest reluctance and only because the wrong-doing of that nation imposes a distinct, although painful, duty upon us; and yet that we do not intend ourselves to submit to wrong-doing from any nation.

Until an efficient world league for peace is in more than mere process of formation the United States must depend upon itself for protection where its vital interests are concerned. All the youth of the nation should be trained in warlike exercises and in the use of arms—as well as in the indispensable virtues of courage, self-restraint, and endurance—so as to be fit for national defense. But the right arm of the nation must be its navy. Our navy is our most efficient peacemaker. In order to use the navy effectively we should clearly define to ourselves the policy we intend to follow and the limits over which we expect our power to extend. Our own coasts, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Panama Canal and its approaches should represent the sphere in which we

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

should expect to be able, single-handed, to meet and master any opponent from overseas.

I exclude the Philippines. This is because I feel that the present administration has definitely committed us to a course of action which will make the early and complete severance of the Philippines from us not merely desirable but necessary. I have never felt that the Philippines were of any special use to us. But I have felt that we had a great task to perform there and that a great nation is benefited by doing a great task. It was our bounden duty to work primarily for the interests of the Filipinos; but it was also our bounden duty, inasmuch as the entire responsibility lay upon us, to consult our own judgment and not theirs in finally deciding what was to be done. It was our duty to govern the islands or to get out of the islands. It was most certainly not our duty to take the responsibility of staying in the islands without governing them. Still less was it—or is it—our duty to enter into joint arrangements with other powers about the islands; arrangements of confused responsibility and divided power of the kind sure to cause mischief. I had hoped that we would continue to govern the islands until we were certain that they were able to govern themselves in such fashion as to do justice to other nations and to repel injustice committed on them by other nations. To substitute for such government by ourselves either a government by the Filipinos with us guaranteeing them against outsiders, or a joint guaranty between us and outsiders, would be folly. It is eminently desirable to guarantee the neutrality of small civilized nations which have a high social and cultural status and which are so advanced that they do not fall into disorder or commit wrong-doing on others. But it is eminently

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

undesirable to guarantee the neutrality or sovereignty of an inherently weak nation which is impotent to preserve order at home, to repel assaults from abroad, or to refrain from doing wrong to outsiders. It is even more undesirable to give such a guaranty with no intention of making it really effective. That this is precisely what the present administration would be delighted to do has been shown by its refusal to live up to its Hague promises at the very time that it was making similar new international promises by the batch. To enter into a joint guaranty of neutrality which in emergencies can only be rendered effective by force of arms is to incur a serious responsibility which ought to be undertaken in a serious spirit. To enter into it with no intention of using force, or of preparing force, in order at need to make it effective, represents the kind of silliness which is worse than wickedness.

Above all, we should keep our promises. The present administration was elected on the outright pledge of giving the Filipinos independence. Apparently its course in the Philippines has proceeded upon the theory that the Filipinos are now fit to govern themselves. Whatever may be our personal and individual beliefs in this matter, we ought not as a nation to break faith or even to seem to break faith. I hope therefore that the Filipinos will be given their independence at an early date and without any guaranty from us which might in any way hamper our future action or commit us to staying on the Asiatic coast. I do not believe we should keep any foothold whatever in the Philippines. Any kind of position by us in the Philippines merely results in making them our heel of Achilles if we are attacked by a foreign power. They can be of no compensating benefit to us. If we were to retain complete control

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

over them and to continue the course of action which in the past sixteen years has resulted in such immeasurable benefit for them, then I should feel that it was our duty to stay and work for them in spite of the expense incurred by us and the risk we thereby ran. But inasmuch as we have now promised to leave them and as we are now abandoning our power to work efficiently for and in them, I do not feel that we are warranted in staying in the islands in an equivocal position, thereby incurring great risk to ourselves without conferring any real compensating advantage, of a kind which we are bound to take into account, on the Filipinos themselves. If the Filipinos are entitled to independence, then we are entitled to be freed from all the responsibility and risk which our presence in the islands entails upon us.

The great nations of southernmost South America, Brazil, the Argentine, and Chile, are now so far advanced in stability and power that there is no longer any need of applying the Monroe Doctrine as far as they are concerned; and this also relieves us as regards Uruguay and Paraguay, the former of which is well advanced and neither of which has any interests with which we need particularly concern ourselves. As regards all these powers, therefore, we now have no duty save that doubtless if they got into difficulties and desired our aid we would gladly extend it, just as, for instance, we would to Australia and Canada. But we can now proceed on the assumption that they are able to help themselves and that any help we should be required to give would be given by us as an auxiliary rather than as a principal.

Our naval problem, therefore, is primarily to provide for the protection of our own coasts and for the protection and policing of Hawaii, Alaska, and the Panama

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

Canal and its approaches. This offers a definite problem which should be solved by our naval men. It is for them, having in view the lessons taught by this war, to say what is the exact type of fleet we require, the number and kind of submarines, of destroyers, of mines, and of air-ships to be used against hostile fleets, in addition to the cruisers and great fighting craft which must remain the backbone of the navy. Civilians may be competent to pass on the merits of the plans suggested by the naval men, but it is the naval men themselves who must make and submit the plans in detail. Lay opinion, however, should keep certain elementary facts steadily in mind.

The navy must primarily be used for offensive purposes. Forts, not the navy, are to be used for defense. The only permanently efficient type of defensive is the offensive. A portion, and a very important portion, of our naval strength must be used with our own coast ordinarily as a base, its striking radius being only a few score miles, or a couple of hundred at the outside. The events of this war have shown that submarines can play a tremendous part. We should develop our force of submarines and train the officers and crews who have charge of them to the highest pitch of efficiency—for they will be useless in time of war unless those aboard them have been trained in time of peace. These submarines, when used in connection with destroyers and with air-ships, can undoubtedly serve to minimize the danger of successful attack on our own shores. But the prime lesson of the war, as regards the navy, is that the nation with a powerful seagoing navy, although it may suffer much annoyance and loss, yet is able on the whole to take the offensive and do great damage to a nation with a less powerful navy. Great Britain's naval

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

superiority over Germany has enabled her completely to paralyze all Germany's sea commerce and to prevent goods from entering her ports. What is far more important, it has enabled the British to land two or three hundred thousand men to aid the French, and has enabled Canada and Australia to send a hundred thousand men from the opposite ends of the earth to Great Britain. If Germany had had the more powerful navy England would now have suffered the fate of Belgium.

The capital work done by the German cruisers in the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans shows how much can be accomplished in the way of hurting and damaging an enemy by even the weaker power if it possesses fine ships, well handled, able to operate thousands of miles from their own base. We must not fail to recognize this. Neither must we fail heartily and fully to recognize the capital importance of submarines as well as air-ships, torpedo-boat destroyers, and mines, as proved by the events of the last three months. But nothing that has yet occurred warrants us in feeling that we can afford to ease up in our programme of building battleships and cruisers, especially the former. The German submarines have done wonderfully in this war; their cruisers have done gallantly. But so far as Great Britain is concerned the vital and essential feature has been the fact that her great battle fleet has kept the German fleet immured in its own home ports, has protected Britain from invasion, and has enabled her land strength to be used to its utmost capacity beside the armies of France and Belgium. If the men who for years have clamored against Britain's being prepared had had their way, if Britain during the last quarter of a century had failed to continue the upbuilding of her navy, if the English statesmen corresponding to President Wilson

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

and Mr. Bryan had seen their ideas triumph, England would now be off the map as a great power and the British Empire would have dissolved, while London, Liverpool, and Birmingham would be in the condition of Antwerp and Brussels.

The efficiency of the German personnel at sea has been no less remarkable than the efficiency of the German personnel on land. This is due partly to the spirit of the nation and partly to what is itself a consequence of that spirit, the careful training of the navy during peace under the conditions of actual service. When, early in 1909, our battle fleet returned from its sixteen months' voyage around the world there was no navy in the world which, size for size, ship for ship, and squadron for squadron, stood at a higher pitch of efficiency. We blind ourselves to the truth if we believe that the same is true now. During the last twenty months, ever since Secretary Meyer left the Navy Department, there has been in our navy a great falling off relatively to other nations. It was quite impossible to avoid this while our national affairs were handled as they have recently been handled. The President who intrusts the Departments of State and the Navy to gentlemen like Messrs. Bryan and Daniels deliberately invites disaster, in the event of serious complications with a formidable foreign opponent. On the whole, there is no class of our citizens, big or small, who so emphatically deserve well of the country as the officers and the enlisted men of the army and navy. No navy in the world has such fine stuff out of which to make man-of-war's men. But they must be heartily backed up, heartily supported, and sedulously trained. They must be treated well, and, above all, they must be treated so as to encourage the best among them by sharply discriminating against

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

the worst. The utmost possible efficiency should be demanded of them. They are emphatically and in every sense of the word men; and real men resent with impatient contempt a policy under which less than their best is demanded. The finest material is utterly worthless without the best personnel. In such a highly specialized service as the navy constant training of a purely military type is an absolute necessity. At present our navy is lamentably short in many different material directions. There is actually but one torpedo for each torpedo-tube. It seems incredible that such can be the case; yet it is the case. We are many thousands of men short in our enlistments. We are lamentably short in certain types of vessel. There is grave doubt as to the efficiency of many of our submarines and destroyers. But the shortcomings in our training are even more lamentable. To keep the navy cruising near Vera Cruz and in Mexican waters, without manœuvring, invites rapid deterioration. For nearly two years there has been no fleet manœuvring; and this fact by itself probably means a twenty-five per cent loss of efficiency. During the same periods most of the ships have not even had division gun practice. Not only should our navy be as large as our position and interest demand but it should be kept continually at the highest point of efficiency and should never be used save for its own appropriate military purposes. Of this elementary fact the present administration seems to be completely ignorant.

President Wilson and Secretary Daniels assert that our navy is in efficient shape. Admiral Fiske's testimony is conclusive to the contrary, although it was very cautiously given, as is but natural when a naval officer, if he tells the whole truth, must state what is

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

unpleasant for his superiors to hear. Other naval officers have pointed out our deficiencies, and the newspapers state that some of them have been reprimanded for so doing. But there is no need for their testimony. There is one admitted fact which is absolutely conclusive in the matter. There has been no fleet manœuvring during the past twenty-two months. In spite of fleet manœuvring the navy may be unprepared. But it is an absolute certainty that without fleet manœuvring it cannot possibly be prepared. In the unimportant domain of sport there is not a man who goes to see the annual football game between Harvard and Yale who would not promptly cancel his ticket if either university should propose to put into the field a team which, no matter how good the players were individually, had not been practised as a team during the preceding sixty days. If in such event the president of either university or the coach of the team should announce that in spite of never having had any team practice the team was nevertheless in first-class condition, there is literally no intelligent follower of the game who would regard the utterance as serious. Why should President Wilson and Secretary Daniels expect the American public to show less intelligence as regards the vital matter of our navy than they do as regards a mere sport, a mere play? For twenty-two months there has been no fleet manœuvring. Since in the daily press, early in November, I, with emphasis, called attention to this fact Mr. Daniels has announced that shortly manœuvring will take place; and of course the failure to manœuvre for nearly two years has been due less to Mr. Daniels than to President Wilson's futile and mischievous Mexican policy and his entire ignorance of the needs of the navy. I am glad that the administration

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

has tardily waked up to the necessity of taking some steps to make the navy efficient, and if the President and the secretary of the navy bring forth fruits meet for repentance, I will most heartily acknowledge the fact—just as it has given me the utmost pleasure to praise and support President Wilson's secretary of war, Mr. Garrison. But misstatements as to actual conditions make but a poor preparation for the work of remedying these conditions, and President Wilson and Secretary Daniels try to conceal from the people our ominous naval shortcomings. The shortcomings are far-reaching, alike in material, organization, and practical training. The navy is absolutely unprepared; its efficiency has been terribly reduced under and because of the action of President Wilson and Secretary Daniels. Let them realize this fact and do all they can to remedy the wrong they have committed. Let Congress realize its own shortcomings. Far-reaching and thoroughgoing treatment, continued for a period of at least two and in all probability three years, is needed if the navy is to be placed on an equality, unit for unit, no less than in the mass, with the navies of England, Germany, and Japan. In the present war the deeds of the *Emden*, of the German submarines, of Von Spee's squadron, have shown not merely efficiency but heroism; and the navies of Great Britain and Japan have been handled in masterly manner. Have the countrymen of Farragut, of Cushing, Buchanan, Winslow, and Semmes, of Decatur, Hull, Perry, and MacDonough, lost their address and courage, and are they willing to sink below the standard set by their forefathers?

It has been said that the United States never learns by experience but only by disaster. Such method of education may at times prove costly. The slothful or

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

short-sighted citizens who are now misled by the cries of the ultrapacifists would do well to remember events connected with the outbreak of the war with Spain. I was then assistant secretary of the navy. At one bound our people passed from a condition of smug confidence that war never could occur (a smug confidence just as great as any we feel at present) to a condition of utterly unreasoning panic over what might be done to us by a very weak antagonist. One governor of a seaboard State announced that none of the National Guard regiments would be allowed to respond to the call of the President because they would be needed to prevent a Spanish invasion of that State—the Spaniards being about as likely to make such an invasion as we were to invade Timbuctoo or Turkestan. One congressman besought me to send a battleship to protect Jekyll Island, off the coast of Georgia. Another congressman asked me to send a battleship to protect a summer colony which centred around a large Atlantic coast hotel in Connecticut. In my own neighborhood on Long Island clauses were gravely inserted into the leases of property to the effect that if the Spaniards destroyed the property the leases should terminate. Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, municipal authorities, leading business men, from one end of the country to the other, hysterically demanded, each of them, that a ship should be stationed to defend some particular locality; the theory being that our navy should be strung along both seacoasts, each ship by itself, in a purely defensive attitude—thereby making certain that even the Spanish navy could pick them all up in detail. One railway president came to protest to me against the choice of Tampa as a point of embarkation for our troops, on the ground that his railway was

OUR PEACEMAKER, THE NAVY

entitled to its share of the profit of transporting troops and munitions of war and that his railway went to New Orleans. The very senators and congressmen who had done everything in their power to prevent the building up and the efficient training of the navy screamed and shrieked loudest to have the navy diverted from its proper purpose and used to protect unimportant seaports. Surely our congressmen and, above all, our people need to learn that in time of crisis peace treaties are worthless, and the ultrapacifists of both sexes merely a burden on and a detriment to the country as a whole; that the only permanently useful defensive is the offensive, and that the navy is properly the offensive weapon of the nation.

The navy of the United States is the right arm of the United States and is emphatically the peacemaker. Woe to our country if we permit that right arm to become palsied or even to become flabby and inefficient!

X

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

MILITARY preparedness meets two needs. In the first place, it is a partial insurance against war. In the next place, it is a partial guaranty that if war comes the country will certainly escape dishonor and will probably escape material loss.

The question of preparedness cannot be considered at all until we get certain things clearly in our minds. Right thinking, wholesome thinking, is essential as a preliminary to sound national action. Until our people understand the folly of certain of the arguments advanced against the action this nation needs, it is, of course, impossible to expect them to take such action.

The first thing to understand is the fact that preparedness for war does not always insure peace but that it very greatly increases the chances of securing peace. Foolish people point out nations which, in spite of preparedness for war, have seen war come upon them, and then exclaim that preparedness against war is of no use. Such an argument is precisely like saying that the existence of destructive fires in great cities shows that there is no use in having a fire department. A fire department, which means preparedness against fire, does not prevent occasional destructive fires, but it does greatly diminish and may completely minimize the chances for wholesale destruction by fire. Nations that are prepared for war occasionally suffer from it; but if they are unprepared for it they suffer far more often and far more radically.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

Fifty years ago China, Korea, and Japan were in substantially the same stage of culture and civilization. Japan, whose statesmen had vision and whose people had the fighting edge, began a course of military preparedness, and the other two nations (one of them in natural resources immeasurably superior to Japan) remained unprepared. In consequence, Japan has immensely increased her power and standing and is wholly free from all danger of military invasion. Korea, on the contrary, having first been dominated by Russia has now been conquered by Japan. China has been partially dismembered; one-half of her territories are now subject to the dominion of foreign nations, which have time and again waged war between themselves on these territories, and her remaining territory is kept by her purely because these foreign nations are jealous of one another.

In 1870 France was overthrown and suffered by far the most damaging and disastrous defeat she had suffered since the days of Joan of Arc—because she was not prepared. In the present war she has suffered terribly, but she is beyond all comparison better off than she was in 1870, because she has been prepared. Poor Belgium, in spite of being prepared, was almost destroyed, because great neutral nations—the United States being the chief offender—have not yet reached the standard of international morality and of willingness to fight for righteousness which must be attained before they can guarantee small, well-behaved, civilized nations against cruel disaster. England, because she was prepared as far as her navy is concerned, has been able to avoid Belgium's fate; and, on the other hand, if she had been as prepared with her army as France, she would probably have been able to avert the war and, if

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

this could not have been done, would at any rate have been able to save both France and Belgium from invasion.

In recent years Rumania, Bulgaria, and Servia have at times suffered terribly, and in some cases have suffered disaster, in spite of being prepared for war; but Bosnia and Herzegovina are under alien rule at this moment because they could no more protect themselves against Austria than they could against Turkey. While Greece was unprepared she was able to accomplish nothing, and she encountered disaster. As soon as she was prepared, she benefited immensely.

Switzerland, at the time of the Napoleonic wars, was wholly unprepared for war. In spite of her mountains, her neighbors overran her at will. Great battles were fought on her soil, including one great battle between the French and the Russians; but the Swiss took no part in these battles. Their territory was practically annexed to the French Republic, and they were dominated over first by the Emperor Napoleon and then by his enemies. It was a bitter lesson, but the Swiss learned it. Since then they have gradually prepared for war as no other small state of Europe has done, and it is in consequence of this preparedness that none of the combatants has violated Swiss territory in the present struggle.

The briefest examination of the facts shows that unpreparedness for war tends to lead to immeasurable disaster, and that preparedness, while it does not certainly avert war any more than the fire department of a city certainly averts fire, yet tends very strongly to guarantee the nation against war and to secure success in war if it should unhappily arise.

Another argument advanced against preparedness for

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

war is that such preparedness incites war. This, again, is not in accordance with the facts. Unquestionably certain nations have at times prepared for war with a view to foreign conquest. But the rule has been that unpreparedness for war does not have any real effect in securing peace, although it is always apt to make war disastrous, and that preparedness for war generally goes hand in hand with an increased caution in going to war.

Striking examples of these truths are furnished by the history of the Spanish-American states. For nearly three-quarters of a century after these states won their independence their history was little else than a succession of bloody revolutions and of wars among themselves as well as with outsiders, while during the same period there was little or nothing done in the way of effective military preparedness by one of them. During the last twenty or thirty years, however, certain of them, notably Argentina and Chile, have prospered and become stable. Their stability has been partly caused by, and partly accompanied by, a great increase in military preparedness. During this period Argentina and Chile have known peace as they never knew it before, and as the other Spanish-American countries have not known it either before or since, and at the same time their military efficiency has enormously increased.

Proportionately, Argentina and Chile are in military strength beyond all comparison more efficient than the United States; and if our navy is permitted to deteriorate as it has been deteriorating for nearly two years, the same statement can soon be made, although with more qualification, of their naval strength. Preparedness for war has made them far less liable to have war. It has made them less and not more aggressive. It has also made them for the first time efficient potential fac-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

tors in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine as coguarantors, on a footing of complete equality with the United States. The Monroe Doctrine, conceived not merely as a measure of foreign policy vital to the welfare of the United States, but even more as the proper joint foreign policy of all American nations, is by far the most efficient guaranty against war that can be offered the western hemisphere. By whatever name it is called, it is absolutely indispensable in order to keep this hemisphere mistress of its own destinies, able to prevent any part of it from falling under the dominion of any Old World power, and able absolutely to control in its own interest all colonization on and immigration to our shores from either Europe or Asia.

The bloodiest and most destructive war in Spanish-American history, that waged by Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay against Paraguay, was waged when all the nations were entirely unprepared for war, especially the three victorious nations. During the last two or three decades Mexico, the Central American states, Colombia, and Venezuela have been entirely unprepared for war, as compared with Chile and Argentina. Yet, whereas Chile and Argentina have been at peace, the other states mentioned have been engaged in war after war of the most bloody and destructive character. Entire lack of preparedness for war has gone hand in hand with war of the worst type and with all the worst sufferings that war can bring.

The lessons taught by Spanish America are paralleled elsewhere. When Greece was entirely unprepared for war she nevertheless went to war with Turkey, exactly as she did when she was prepared; the only difference was that in the one case she suffered disaster and in the other she did not. The war between Italy and Turkey

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

was due wholly to the fact that Turkey was not prepared—that she had no navy. The fact that in 1848 Prussia was entirely unprepared, and moreover had just been engaged in a revolution heartily approved by all the ultrapacifists and professional humanitarians, did not prevent her from entering on a war with Denmark. It merely prevented the war from being successful.

Utter and complete lack of preparation on our part did not prevent our entering into war with Great Britain in 1812 and with Mexico in 1848. It merely exposed us to humiliation and disaster in the former war; in the latter, Mexico was even worse off as regards preparation than we were. As for civil war, of course military unpreparedness has not only never prevented it but, on the contrary, seems usually to have been one of the inciting causes.

The fact that unpreparedness does not mean peace ought to be patent to every American who will think of what has occurred in this country during the last seventeen years. In 1898 we were entirely unprepared for war. No big nation, save and except our opponent, Spain, was more utterly unprepared than we were at that time, nor more utterly unfit for military operations. This did not, however, mean that peace was secured for a single additional hour. Our army and navy had been neglected for thirty-three years. This was due largely to the attitude of the spiritual forebears of those eminent clergymen, earnest social workers, and professionally humanitarian and peace-loving editors, publicists, writers for syndicates, speakers for peace congresses, pacifist college presidents, and the like who have recently come forward to protest against any inquiry into the military condition of this nation, on the ground that to supply our ships and forts with sufficient am-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

munition and to fill up the depleted ranks of the army and navy, and in other ways to prepare against war, will tend to interfere with peace. In 1898 the gentlemen of this sort had had their way for thirty-three years. Our army and navy had been grossly neglected. But the unpreparedness due to this neglect had not the slightest effect of any kind in preventing the war. The only effect it had was to cause the unnecessary and useless loss of thousands of lives in the war. Hundreds of young men perished in the Philippine trenches because, while the soldiers of Aguinaldo had modern rifles with smokeless powder, our troops had only the old black-powder Springfield. Hundreds more, nay thousands, died or had their health impaired for life in fever camps here in our own country and in the Philippines and Cuba, and suffered on transports, because we were entirely unprepared for war, and therefore no one knew how to take care of our men. The lives of these brave young volunteers were the price that this country paid for the past action of men like the clergymen, college presidents, editors, and humanitarians in question—none of whom, by the way, risked their own lives. They were also the price that this country paid for having had in previous cabinets just such incompetents as in time of peace Presidents so often, for political reasons, put into American cabinets—just such incompetents as President Wilson has put into the Departments of State and of the Navy.

Now and then the ultrapacifists point out the fact that war is bad because the best men go to the front and the worst stay at home. There is a certain truth in this. I do not believe that we ought to permit pacifists to stay at home and escape all risk, while their braver and more patriotic fellow countrymen fight for

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

the national well-being. It is for this reason that I wish that we would provide for universal military training for our young men, and in the event of serious war make all men do their part instead of letting the whole burden fall upon the gallant souls who volunteer. But as there is small likelihood of any such course being followed in the immediate future, I at least hope that we will so prepare ourselves in time of peace as to make our navy and army thoroughly efficient; and also to enable us in time of war to handle our volunteers in such shape that the loss among them shall be due to the enemy's bullets instead of, as is now the case, predominantly to preventable sickness which we do not prevent. I call the attention of the ultrapacifists to the fact that in the last half-century all the losses among our men caused by "militarism," as they call it, that is, by the arms of an enemy in consequence of our going to war, have been far less than the loss caused among these same soldiers by applied pacifism, that is, by our government having yielded to the wishes of the pacifists and declined in advance to make any preparations for war. The professional peace people have benefited the foes and ill-wishers of their country; but it is probably the literal fact to say that in the actual deed, by the obstacles they have thrown in the way of making adequate preparation in advance, they have caused more loss of life among American soldiers, fighting for the honor of the American flag, during the fifty years since the close of the Civil War than has been caused by the foes whom we have fought during that period.*

* Some of the leading pacifists are men who have made great fortunes in industry. Of course industry inevitably takes toll of life. Far more lives have been lost in this country by men engaged in bridge-building, tunnel-digging, mining, steel-manufacturing, the erection of skyscrapers, the operations of the fishing-fleet, and

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

But the most striking instance of the utter failure of unpreparedness to stop war has been shown by President Wilson himself. President Wilson has made himself the great official champion of unpreparedness in military and naval matters. His words and his actions about foreign war have their nearest parallel in the words and the actions of President Buchanan about civil war; and in each case there has been the same use of verbal adroitness to cover mental hesitancy. By his words and his actions President Wilson has done everything possible to prevent this nation from making its army and navy effective and to increase the inefficiency which he already found existing. We were unprepared when he took office, and every month since we have grown still less prepared. Yet this fact did not prevent President Wilson, the great apostle of unpreparedness, the great apostle of pacifism and antimilitarism, from going to war with Mexico last spring. It merely prevented him, or, to speak more accurately, the same mental peculiarities which made him the apostle of unpreparedness also prevented him, from making the war efficient. His conduct rendered the United States an object of international derision because of the way in which its affairs were managed. President Wilson made no declaration of war. He did not in any way satisfy the requirements of common international law before acting. He invaded a neighboring state, with which he himself insisted we were entirely at peace, and occupied the most considerable seaport of the country after military operations which resulted in the loss of the lives of the like, than in all our battles in all our foreign wars put together. Such loss of life no more justifies us in opposing righteous wars than in opposing necessary industry. There was certainly far greater loss of life, and probably greater needless and preventable and uncompensated loss of life, in the industries out of which Mr. Carnegie made his gigantic fortune than has occurred among our troops in war during the time covered by Mr. Carnegie's activities on behalf of peace.—T. R.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

perhaps twenty of our men and five or ten times that number of Mexicans; and then he sat supine, and refused to allow either the United States or Mexico to reap any benefit from what had been done.

It is idle to say that such an amazing action was not war. It was an utterly futile war and achieved nothing; but it was war. We had ample justification for interfering in Mexico and even for going to war with Mexico, if after careful consideration this course was deemed necessary. But the President did not even take notice of any of the atrocious wrongs Americans had suffered, or deal with any of the grave provocations we had received. His statement of justification was merely that "we are in Mexico to serve mankind, if we can find a way." Evidently he did not have in his mind any particular idea of how he was to "serve mankind," for, after staying eight months in Mexico, he decided that he could not "find a way" and brought his army home. He had not accomplished one single thing. At one time it was said that we went to Vera Cruz to stop the shipment of arms into Mexico. But after we got there we allowed the shipments to continue. At another time it was said that we went there in order to exact an apology for an insult to the flag. But we never did exact the apology, and we left Vera Cruz without taking any steps to get an apology. In all our history there has been no more extraordinary example of queer infirmity of purpose in an important crisis than was shown by President Wilson in this matter. His business was either not to interfere at all or to interfere hard and effectively. This was the sole policy which should have been allowed by regard for the dignity and honor of the government of the United States and the welfare of our people. In the actual event President Wilson inter-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

ferred, not enough to quell civil war, not enough to put a stop to or punish the outrages on American citizens, but enough to incur fearful responsibilities. Then, having without authority of any kind, either under the Constitution or in international law or in any other way, thus interfered, and having interfered to worse than no purpose, and having made himself and the nation partly responsible for the atrocious wrongs committed on Americans and on foreigners generally in Mexico by the bandit chiefs whom he was more or less furtively supporting, President Wilson abandoned his whole policy and drew out of Mexico to resume his "watchful waiting." When the President, who has made himself the chief official exponent of the doctrine of unpreparedness, thus shows that even in his hands unpreparedness has not the smallest effect in preventing war, there ought to be little need of discussing the matter further.

Preparedness for war occasionally has a slight effect in creating or increasing an aggressive and militaristic spirit. Far more often it distinctly diminishes it. In Switzerland, for instance, which we can well afford to take as a model for ourselves, effectiveness in preparation, and the retention and development of all the personal qualities which give the individual man the fighting edge, have in no shape or way increased the militarist or aggressive spirit. On the contrary, they have doubtless been among the factors that have made the Swiss so much more law-abiding and less homicidal than we are.

The ultrapacifists have been fond of prophesying the immediate approach of a universally peaceful condition throughout the world, which will render it unnecessary to prepare against war because there will be

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

no more war. This represents in some cases well-meaning and pathetic folly. In other cases it represents mischievous and inexcusable folly. But it always represents folly. At best, it represents the inability of some well-meaning men of weak mind, and of some men of strong but twisted mind, either to face or to understand facts.

These prophets of the inane are not peculiar to our own day. A little over a century and a quarter ago a noted Italian pacifist and philosopher, Aurelio Bertela, summed up the future of civilized mankind as follows: "The political system of Europe has arrived at perfection. An equilibrium has been attained which henceforth will preserve peoples from subjugation. Few reforms are now needed and these will be accomplished peaceably. Europe has no need to fear revolution."

These sapient statements (which have been paralleled by hundreds of utterances in the many peace congresses of the last couple of decades) were delivered in 1787, the year in which the French Assembly of Notables ushered in the greatest era of revolution, domestic turmoil, and international war in all history—an era which still continues and which shows not the smallest sign of coming to an end. Never before have there been wars on so great a scale as during this century and a quarter; and the greatest of all these wars is now being waged. Never before, except for the ephemeral conquests of certain Asiatic barbarians, have there been subjugations of civilized peoples on so great a scale.

During this period here and there something has been done for peace, much has been done for liberty, and very much has been done for reform and advancement. But the professional pacifists, taken as a class throughout the entire period, have done nothing for permanent

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

peace and less than nothing for liberty and for the forward movement of mankind. Hideous things have been done in the name of liberty, in the name of order, in the name of religion; and the victories that have been gained against these iniquities have been gained by strong men, armed, who put their strength at the service of righteousness and who were hampered and not helped by the futility of the men who inveighed against all use of armed strength.

The effective workers for the peace of righteousness were men like Stein, Cavour, and Lincoln; that is, men who dreamed great dreams, but who were also pre-eminently men of action, who stood for the right, and who knew that the right would fail unless might was put behind it. The prophets of pacifism have had nothing whatever in common with these great men; and whenever they have preached mere pacifism, whenever they have failed to put righteousness first and to advocate peace as the handmaiden of righteousness, they have done evil and not good.

After the exhaustion of the Napoleonic struggles there came thirty-five years during which there was no great war, while what was called "the long peace" was broken only by minor international wars or short-lived revolutionary contests. Good, but not far-sighted, men in various countries, but especially in England, Germany, and our own country, forthwith began to dream dreams—not of a universal peace that should be founded on justice and righteousness backed by strength, but of a universal peace to be obtained by the prattle of weaklings and the outpourings of amiable enthusiasts who lacked the fighting edge. About 1850, for instance, the first large peace congress was held. There were numbers of kindly people who felt that this congress, and

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

the contemporary international exposition, also the first of its kind, heralded the beginning of a régime of universal peace. As a matter of fact, there followed twenty years during which a number of great and bloody wars took place—wars far surpassing in extent, in duration, in loss of life and property, and in importance anything that had been seen since the close of the Napoleonic contest.

Then there came another period of nearly thirty years during which there were relatively only a few wars, and these not of the highest importance. Again upright and intelligent but uninformed men began to be misled by foolish men into the belief that world peace was about to be secured, on a basis of amiable fatuity all around and under the lead of the preachers of the diluted mush of make-believe morality. A number of peace congresses, none of which accomplished anything, were held, and also certain Hague conferences, which did accomplish a certain small amount of real good but of a strictly limited kind. It was well worth going into these Hague conferences, but only on condition of clearly understanding how strictly limited was the good that they accomplished. The hysterical people who treated them as furnishing a patent peace panacea did nothing but harm, and partially offset the real but limited good the conferences actually accomplished. Indeed, the conferences undoubtedly did a certain amount of damage because of the preposterous expectations they excited among well-meaning but ill-informed and unthinking persons. These persons really believed that it was possible to achieve the millennium by means that would not have been very effective in preserving peace among the active boys of a large Sunday-school—let alone grown-up men in the world as it actually is. A

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

pathetic commentary on their attitude is furnished by the fact that the fifteen years that have elapsed since the first Hague conference have seen an immense increase of war, culminating in the present war, waged by armies, and with bloodshed, on a scale far vaster than ever before in the history of mankind.

All these facts furnish no excuse whatever for our failing to work zealously for peace, but they absolutely require us to understand that it is noxious to work for a peace not based on righteousness, and useless to work for a peace based on righteousness unless we put force back of righteousness. At present this means that adequate preparedness against war offers to our nation its sole guaranty against wrong and aggression.

Emerson has said that in the long run the most uncomfortable truth is a safer travelling companion than the most agreeable falsehood. The advocates of peace will accomplish nothing except mischief until they are willing to look facts squarely in the face. One of these facts is that universal military service, wherever tried, has on the whole been a benefit and not a harm to the people of the nation, so long as the demand upon the average man's life has not been for too long a time. The Swiss people have beyond all question benefited by their system of limited but universal preparation for military service. The same thing is true of Australia, Chile, and Argentina. In every one of these countries the short military training given has been found to increase in marked fashion the social and industrial efficiency, the ability to do good industrial work, of the man thus trained. It would be well for the United States from every standpoint immediately to provide such strictly limited universal military training.

But it is well also for the United States to understand

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

that a system of military training which from our standpoint would be excessive and unnecessary in order to meet our needs, may yet work admirably for some other nation. The two nations that during the last fifty years have made by far the greatest progress are Germany and Japan; and they are the two nations in which preparedness for war in time of peace has been carried to the highest point of scientific development. The feat of Japan has been something absolutely without precedent in recorded history. Great civilizations, military, industrial, and artistic, have arisen and flourished in Asia again and again in the past. But never before has an Asiatic power succeeded in adopting civilization of the European or most advanced type and in developing it to a point of military and industrial efficiency equalled only by one power of European blood.

As for Germany, we believers in democracy who also understand, as every sound-thinking democrat must, that democracy cannot succeed unless it shows the same efficiency that is shown by autocracy (as Switzerland on a small scale has shown it) need above all other men carefully to study what Germany has accomplished during the last half-century. Her military efficiency has not been more astounding than her industrial and social efficiency; and the essential thing in her career of greatness has been the fact that this industrial and social efficiency is in part directly based upon the military efficiency and in part indirectly based upon it, because based upon the mental, physical, and moral qualities developed by the military efficiency. The solidarity and power of collective action, the trained ability to work hard for an end which is afar off in the future, the combination of intelligent forethought with efficient and strenuous action—all these together have given her her

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

extraordinary industrial pre-eminence; and all of these have been based upon her military efficiency.

The Germans have developed patriotism of the most intense kind, and although this patriotism expresses itself in thunderous songs, in speeches, and in books, it does not confine itself to these methods of expression, but treats them merely as incitements to direct and efficient action. After five months of war, Germany has on the whole been successful against opponents which in population outnumber her over two to one, and in natural resources are largely superior. Russian and French armies have from time to time obtained lodgement on German soil; but on the whole the fighting has been waged by German armies on Russian, French, and Belgian territory. On her western frontier, it is true, she was checked and thrown back after her first drive on Paris, and again checked and thrown slightly back when, after the fall of Antwerp, she attempted to advance along the Belgian coast. But in the west she has on the whole successfully pursued the offensive, and her battle lines are in the enemies' territory, although she has had to face the entire strength of France, England, and Belgium.

Moreover, she did this with only a part of her forces. At the same time she was also obliged to use immense armies, singly or in conjunction with the Austrians, against the Russians on her eastern frontier. No one can foretell the issue of the war. But what Germany has already done must extort the heartiest admiration for her grim efficiency. It could have been done only by a masterful people guided by keen intelligence and inspired by an intensely patriotic spirit.

France has likewise shown to fine advantage in this war (in spite of certain marked shortcomings, such as

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

the absurd uniforms of her soldiers) because of her system of universal military training. England has suffered lamentably because there has been no such system. Great masses of Englishmen, including all her men at the front, have behaved so as to command our heartiest admiration. But qualification must be made when the nation as a whole is considered. Her professional soldiers, her navy, and her upper classes have done admirably; but the English papers describe certain sections of her people as making a poor showing in their refusal to volunteer. The description of the professional football-matches, attended by tens of thousands of spectators, none of whom will enlist, makes a decent man ardently wish that under a rigid conscription law the entire body of players, promoters, and spectators could be sent to the front. Scotland and Canada have apparently made an extraordinary showing; the same thing is true of sections, high and low, of society in England proper; but it is also true that certain sections of the British democracy under a system of free volunteering have shown to disadvantage compared to Germany, where military service is universal. The lack of foresight in preparation was also shown by the inability of the authorities to furnish arms and equipment for the troops that were being raised. These shortcomings are not alluded to by me in a censorious spirit, and least of all with any idea of reflecting on England, but purely that our own people may profit by the lessons taught. America should pay heed to these facts and profit by them; and we can only so profit if we realize that under like conditions we should at the moment make a much poorer showing than England has made.

It is indispensable to remember that in the cases of

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

both Germany and Japan their extraordinary success has been due directly to that kind of efficiency in war which springs only from the highest efficiency in preparedness for war. Until educated people who sincerely desire peace face this fact with all of its implications, unpleasant and pleasant, they will not be able to better present international conditions. In order to secure this betterment, conditions must be created which will enable civilized nations to achieve such efficiency without being thereby rendered dangerous to their neighbors and to civilization as a whole. Americans, particularly, and, to a degree only slightly less, Englishmen and Frenchmen need to remember this fact, for while the ultrapacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, have appeared sporadically everywhere, they have of recent years been most numerous and noxious in the United States, in Great Britain, and in France.

Inasmuch as in our country, where, Heaven knows, we have evils enough with which to grapple, none of these evils is in even the smallest degree due to militarism—inasmuch as to inveigh against militarism in the United States is about as useful as to inveigh against eating horse-flesh in honor of Odin—this seems curious. But it is true. Probably it is merely another illustration of the old, old truth that persons who shrink from grappling with grave and real evils often strive to atone to their consciences for such failure by empty denunciation of evils which to them offer no danger and no temptation; which, as far as they are concerned, do not exist. Such denunciation is easy. It is also worthless.

American college presidents, clergymen, professors, and publicists with much pretension—some of it founded on fact—to intelligence have praised works like that of Mr. Bloch, who “proved” that war was

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

impossible, and like those of Mr. Norman Angell, who "proved" that it was an illusion to believe that it was profitable. The greatest and most terrible wars in history have taken place since Mr. Bloch wrote. When Mr. Angell wrote no unprejudiced man of wisdom could have failed to understand that the two most successful nations of recent times, Germany and Japan, owed their great national success to successful war. The United States owes not only its greatness but its very existence to the fact that in the Civil War the men who controlled its destinies were the fighting men. The counsels of the ultrapacifists, the peace-at-any-price men of that day, if adopted, would have meant not only the death of the nation but an incalculable disaster to humanity. A righteous war may at any moment be essential to national welfare; and it is a lamentable fact that nations have sometimes profited greatly by war that was not righteous. Such evil profit will never be done away with until armed force is put behind righteousness.

We must also remember, however, that the mischievous folly of the men whose counsels tend to inefficiency and impotence is not worse than the baseness of the men who in a spirit of mean and cringing admiration of brute force gloss over, or justify, or even deify, the exhibition of unscrupulous strength. Writings like those of Homer Lea, or of Nietzsche, or even of Professor Treitschke—not to speak of Carlyle—are as objectionable as those of Messrs. Bloch and Angell. Our people need to pay homage to the great efficiency and the intense patriotism of Germany. But they need no less fully to realize that this patriotism has at times been accompanied by callous indifference to the rights of weaker nations, and that this efficiency has at times been exercised in a way that represents a genuine set-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

back to humanity and civilization. Germany's conduct toward Belgium can be justified only in accordance with a theory which will also justify Napoleon's conduct toward Spain and his treatment of Prussia and of all Germany during the six years succeeding Jena. I do not see how any man can fail to sympathize with Stein and Schornhorst; with Andreas Hofer, with the Maid of Saragossa, with Koerner and the Tugendbund; and if he does so sympathize, he must extend the same sympathy and admiration to King Albert and the Belgians.

Moreover, it is well for Americans always to remember that what has been done to Belgium would, of course, be done to us just as unhesitatingly if the conditions required it.

Of course, the lowest depth is reached by the professional pacifists who continue to scream for peace without daring to protest against any concrete wrong committed against peace. These include all of our fellow countrymen who at the present time clamor for peace without explicitly and clearly declaring that the first condition of peace should be the righting of the wrongs of Belgium, reparation to her, and guaranty against the possible repetition of such wrongs at the expense of any well-behaved small civilized power in the future. It may be that peace will come without such reparation and guaranty but if so it will be as emphatically the peace of unrighteousness as was the peace made at Tilsit a hundred and seven years ago.

When the President appoints a day of prayer for peace, without emphatically making it evident that the prayer should be for the redress of the wrongs without which peace would be harmful, he cannot be considered as serving righteousness. When Mr. Bryan concludes absurd all-inclusive arbitration treaties and is loqua-

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

cious to peace societies about the abolition of war, without daring to protest against the hideous wrongs done Belgium, he feebly serves unrighteousness. More comic manifestations, of course entirely useless but probably too fatuous to be really mischievous, are those which find expression in the circulation of peace postage-stamps with doves on them, or in taking part in peace parades—they might as well be antivaccination parades—or in the circulation of peace petitions to be signed by school-children, which for all their possible effect might just as well relate to the planet Mars.

International peace will only come when the nations of the world form some kind of league which provides for an international tribunal to decide on international matters, which decrees that treaties and international agreements are never to be entered into recklessly and foolishly, and when once entered into are to be observed with entire good faith, and which puts the collective force of civilization behind such treaties and agreements and court decisions and against any wrong-doing or recalcitrant nation. The all-inclusive arbitration treaties negotiated by the present administration amount to almost nothing. They are utterly worthless for good. They are however slightly mischievous because:

1. There is no provision for their enforcement, and,
2. They would be in some cases not only impossible but improper to enforce.

A treaty is a promise. It is like a promise to pay in the commercial world. Its value lies in the means provided for redeeming the promise. To make it, and not redeem it, is vicious. A United States gold certificate is valuable because gold is back of it. If there were nothing back of it the certificate would sink to the position of fiat money, which is irredeemable, and therefore

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

valueless; as in the case of our Revolutionary currency. The Wilson-Bryan all-inclusive arbitration treaties represent nothing whatever but international fiat money. To make them is no more honest than it is to issue fiat money. Mr. Bryan would not make a good secretary of the treasury, but he would do better in that position than as secretary of state. For his type of fiat obligations is a little worse in international than in internal affairs. The all-inclusive arbitration treaties, in whose free and unlimited negotiation Mr. Bryan takes such pleasure, are of less value than the thirty-cent dollars, whose free and unlimited coinage he formerly advocated.

An efficient world league for peace is as yet in the future; and it may be, although I sincerely hope not, in the far future. The indispensable thing for every free people to do in the present day is with efficiency to prepare against war by making itself able physically to defend its rights and by cultivating that stern and manly spirit without which no material preparation will avail.

The last point is all-essential. It is not of much use to provide an armed force if that force is composed of poltroons and ultrapacifists. Such men should be sent to the front, of course, for they should not be allowed to shirk the danger which their braver fellow countrymen willingly face, and under proper discipline some use can be made of them; but the fewer there are of them in a nation the better the army of that nation will be.

A Yale professor—he might just as well have been a Harvard professor—is credited in the press with saying the other day that he wishes the United States would take the position that if attacked it would not defend itself, and would submit unresistingly to any spoliation.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

The professor said that this would afford such a beautiful example to mankind that war would undoubtedly be abolished. Magazine writers, and writers of syndicate articles published in reputable papers, have recently advocated similar plans. Men who talk this way are thoroughly bad citizens. Few members of the criminal class are greater enemies of the Republic.

American citizens must understand that they cannot advocate or acquiesce in an evil course of action and then escape responsibility for the results. If disaster comes to our navy in the near future it will be directly due to the way the navy has been handled during the past twenty-two months, and a part of the responsibility will be shared by every man who has failed effectively to protest against, or in any way has made himself responsible for, the attitude of the present administration in foreign affairs and as regards the navy.

The first and most important thing for us as a people to do, in order to prepare ourselves for self-defense, is to get clearly in our minds just what our policy is to be, and to insist that our public servants shall make their words and their deeds correspond. As has already been pointed out, the present administration was elected on the explicit promise that the Philippines should be given their independence, and it has taken action in the Philippines which can only be justified on the theory that this independence is to come in the immediate future. I believe that we have rendered incalculable service to the Philippines, and that what we have there done has shown in the most striking manner the extreme mischief that would have followed if, in 1898 and the subsequent years, we had failed to do our duty in consequence of following the advice of Mr. Bryan and the pacifists or anti-imperialists of that day. But we must

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

keep our promises; and we ought now to leave the islands completely at as early a date as possible.

There remains to defend—the United States proper, the Panama Canal and its approaches, Alaska, and Hawaii. To defend all these is vital to our honor and interest. For such defense preparedness is essential.

The first and most essential form of preparedness should be making the navy efficient. Absolutely and relatively, our navy has never been at such a pitch of efficiency as in February, 1909, when the battle fleet returned from its voyage around the world. Unit for unit, there was no other navy in the world which was at that time its equal. During the next four years we had an admirable secretary of the navy, Mr. Meyer—we were fortunate in having then and since good secretaries of war in Mr. Stimson and Mr. Garrison. Owing to causes for which Mr. Meyer was in no way responsible, there was a slight relative falling off in the efficiency of the navy, and probably a slight absolute falling off during the following four years. But it remained very efficient.

Since Mr. Daniels came in, and because of the action taken by Mr. Daniels under the direction of President Wilson, there has been a most lamentable reduction in efficiency. If at this moment we went to war with a first-class navy of equal strength to our own, there would be a chance not only of defeat but of disgrace. It is probably impossible to put the navy in really first-class condition with Mr. Daniels at its head, precisely as it is impossible to conduct our foreign affairs with dignity and efficiency while Mr. Bryan is at the head of the State Department.

But the great falling off in naval efficiency has been due primarily to the policy pursued by President Wil-

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

son himself. He has kept the navy in Mexican waters. The small craft at Tampico and elsewhere could have rendered real service, but the President refused to allow them to render such service, and left English and German sea officers to protect our people. The great war-craft were of no use at all; yet at this moment he has brought back from Mexico the army which could be of some use and has kept there the war-ships which cannot be of any use, and which suffer terribly in efficiency from being so kept. The fleet has had no manœuvring for twenty-two months. It has had almost no gun practice by division during that time. There is not enough powder; there are not enough torpedoes; the bottoms of the ships are foul; there are grave defects in the submarines; there is a deficiency in aircraft; the under-enlistments indicate a deficiency of from ten thousand to twenty thousand men; the whole service is being handled in such manner as to impair its fitness and morale.

Congress should summon before its committees the best naval experts and provide the battleships, cruisers, submarines, floating mines, and aircraft that these experts declare to be necessary for the full protection of the United States. It should bear in mind that while many of these machines of war are essentially to be used in striking from the coasts themselves, yet that others must be designed to keep the enemy afar from these coasts. Mere defensive by itself cannot permanently avail. The only permanently efficient defensive arm is one which can act offensively. Our navy must be fitted for attack, for delivering smashing blows, in order effectively to defend our own shores. Above all, we should remember that a highly trained personnel is absolutely indispensable, for without it no material preparation is of the least avail.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

But the navy alone will not suffice in time of great crisis. If England had adopted the policy urged by Lord Roberts, there would probably have been no war and certainly the war would now have been at an end, as she would have been able to protect Belgium, as well as herself, and to save France from invasion. Relatively to the Continent, England was utterly unprepared; but she was a miracle of preparedness compared to us. There are many ugly features connected with the slowness of certain sections of the English people to volunteer and with their deficiency in rifles, horses, and equipment; and there have been certain military and naval shortcomings; but until we have radically altered our habits of thought and action we can only say with abashed humility that if England has not shown to advantage compared to Germany, she has certainly done far better than we would have done, and than, as a matter of fact, we actually have done during the past twenty-two months, both as regards Mexico and as regards the fulfilment of our duty in the situation created by the World War.

Congress should at once act favorably along the lines recommended in the recent excellent report of the secretary of war and in accordance with the admirable plan outlined in the last report of the chief of staff of the army, General Wotherspoon—a report with which his predecessor as chief of staff, General Wood, appears to be in complete sympathy. Our army should be doubled in size. An effective reserve should be created. Every year there should be field manœuvres on a large scale, a hundred thousand being engaged for several weeks. The artillery should be given the most scientific training. The equipment should be made perfect at every point. Rigid economy should be demanded.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

Every officer and man should be kept to the highest standard of physical and moral fitness. The unfit should be ruthlessly weeded out. At least one-third of the officers in each grade should be promoted on merit without regard to seniority, and the least fit for promotion should be retired. Every unit of the Regular Army and reserve should be trained to the highest efficiency under war conditions.

But this is not enough. There should be at least ten times the number of rifles and the quantity of ammunition in the country that there are now. In our high schools and colleges a system of military training like that which obtains in Switzerland and Australia should be given. Furthermore, all our young men should be trained in actual field-service under war conditions; preferably on the Swiss, but if not on the Swiss then on the Argentinian or Chilean model.

The Swiss model would probably be better for our people. It would necessitate only four to six months' service shortly after graduation from high school or college, and thereafter only about eight days a year. No man could buy a substitute; no man would be excepted because of his wealth; all would serve in the ranks on precisely the same terms side by side.

Under this system the young men would be trained to shoot, to march, to take care of themselves in the open, and to learn those habits of self-reliance and law-abiding obedience which are not only essential to the efficiency of a citizen soldiery, but are no less essential to the efficient performance of civic duties in a free democracy. My own firm belief is that this system would help us in civil quite as much as in military matters. It would increase our social and industrial efficiency. It would help us to habits of order and respect for law.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

This proposal does not represent anything more than carrying out the purpose of the second amendment to the Federal Constitution, which declares that a well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free nation. The Swiss army is a well-regulated militia; and, therefore, it is utterly different from any militia we have ever had. The system of compulsory training and universal service has worked admirably in Switzerland. It has saved the Swiss from war. It has developed their efficiency in peace.

In theory, President Wilson advocates unpreparedness, and in the actual fact he practises, on our behalf, tame submission to wrong-doing and refusal to stand for our own rights or for the rights of any weak power that is wronged. We who take the opposite view advocate merely acting as Washington urged us to act, when in his first annual address he said: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means for preserving peace. A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite." Jefferson was not a fighting man, but even Jefferson, writing to Monroe in 1785, urged the absolute need of building up our navy if we wished to escape oppression to our commerce and "the present disrespect of the nations of Europe," and added the pregnant sentence: "A coward is much more exposed to quarrels than a man of spirit." As President, he urged our people to train themselves to arms, so as to constitute a citizen soldiery, in terms that showed that his object was to accomplish exactly what the Swiss have accomplished, and what is advocated in this book. In one annual message he advocated "the organization of three hundred thousand able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five for offense

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

or defense at any time or in any place where they may be wanted." In a letter to Monroe he advocated compulsory military service, saying: "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizenry and make military instruction a part of collegiate education. We can never be safe until this is done." The methods taken by Jefferson and the Americans of Jefferson's day to accomplish this object were fatally defective. But their purpose was the same that those who think as we do now put forward. The difference is purely that we present efficient methods for accomplishing this purpose. Washington was a practical man of high ideals who always strove to reduce his ideals to practice. His address to Congress in December, 1793, ought to have been read by President Wilson before the latter sent in his message of 1914 with its confused advocacy of unpreparedness and its tone of furtive apology for submission to insult. Washington said, "There is much due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it. If we desire to secure peace . . . it must be known that we are at all times ready for war," and he emphasized the fact that the peace thus secured by preparedness for war is the most potent method of obtaining material prosperity.

The need of such a system as that which I advocate is well brought out in a letter I recently received from a college president. It runs in part as follows:

"What the average young fellow of eighteen to thirty doesn't know about shooting and riding makes an appalling total. I remember very well visiting the First Connecticut Regiment a day or two before it left for service in the Spanish War. A good many of my boys

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

were with them and I went to see them off. One fellow in particular, of whom I was and am very fond, took me to his tent and proudly exhibited his rifle, calling attention to the beautiful condition to which he had brought it. It certainly was extremely shiny, and I commended him for his careful cleansing of his death-dealing weapon. Then I discovered that the firing-pin (it was an old Springfield) was rusted immovably into its place, and that my boy didn't know that there was any firing-pin. He had learned to expect that if you put a cartridge into the breech, pulled down the block, and pulled the trigger, it would probably go off if he had previously cocked it; but he had never done any of these things.

"It was my fortune to grow up amid surroundings and in a time when every boy had and used a gun. Any boy fourteen years old who was not the proprietor of some kind of shooting-iron and fairly proficient in its use was in disgrace. Such a situation was unthinkable. So we were all fairly dependable shots with a fowling-piece or rifle. As a result of this and subsequent experience, I really believe that so long as my aging body would endure hardship, and provided further that I could be prevented from running away, I should be a more efficient soldier than most of the young fellows on our campus to-day.

"I have watched with much dissatisfaction the gradual disappearance of the military schools here in the East. There are some prominent and useful ones in the West, but they are far too few, and I do not believe there is any preliminary military training of any sort in our public schools. I fear that the military training required by law in certain agricultural and other schools receiving federal aid is more or less of a fake;

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

the object seeming to be to get the appropriation and make the least possible return.

“If in any way you can bring it about that our boys shall be taught to shoot, I believe with you that they can learn the essentials of drill very quickly when need arises. And even so, however, our rulers must learn the necessity of having rifles enough and ammunition enough to meet any emergency at all likely to occur.”

It is idle for this nation to trust to arbitration and neutrality treaties unbacked by force. It is idle to trust to the tepid good-will of other nations. It is idle to trust to alliances. Alliances change. Russia and Japan are now fighting side by side, although nine years ago they were fighting against one another. Twenty years ago Russia and Germany stood side by side. Fifteen years ago England was more hostile to Russia, and even to France, than she was to Germany. It is perfectly possible that after the close of this war the present allies will fall out, or that Germany and Japan will turn up in close alliance.

It is our duty to try to work for a great world league for righteous peace enforced by power; but no such league is yet in sight. At present the prime duty of the American people is to abandon the inane and mischievous principle of watchful waiting—that is, of slothful and timid refusal either to face facts or to perform duty. Let us act justly toward others; and let us also be prepared with stout heart and strong hand to defend our rights against injustice from others.

In his recent report the secretary of war, Mr. Garrison, has put the case for preparedness in the interest of honorable peace so admirably that what he says should be studied by all our people. It runs in part as follows:

“This, then, leaves for consideration the imminent

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

questions of military policy; the considerations which, in my view, should be taken into account in determining the same; and the suggestions which occur to me to be pertinent in the circumstances.

“It would be premature to attempt now to draw the ultimate lessons from the war in Europe. It is an imperative duty, however, to heed so much of what it brings home to us as is incontrovertible and not to be changed by any event, leaving for later and more detailed and comprehensive consideration what its later developments and final conclusions may indicate.

“For orderly treatment certain preliminary considerations may be usefully adverted to. It is, of course, not necessary to dwell on the blessings of peace and the horrors of war. Every one desires peace, just as every one desires health, contentment, affection, sufficient means for comfortable existence, and other similarly beneficent things. But peace and the other states of being just mentioned are not always or even often solely within one’s own control. Those who are thoughtful and have courage face the facts of life, take lessons from experience, and strive by wise conduct to attain the desirable things, and by prevision and precaution to protect and defend them when obtained. It may truthfully be said that eternal vigilance is the price which must be paid in order to obtain the desirable things of life and to defend them.

“In collective affairs the interests of the group are confided to the government, and it thereupon is charged with the duty to preserve and defend these things. The government must exercise for the nation the precautionary, defensive, and preservative measures necessary to that end. All governments must therefore have force—physical force—*i. e.*, military force, for these pur-

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

poses. The question for each nation when this matter is under consideration is, How much force should it have and of what should that force consist?

“In the early history of our nation there was a natural, almost inevitable, abhorrence of military force, because it connoted military despotism. Most, if not all, of the early settlers in this country came from nations where a few powerful persons tyrannically imposed their will upon the people by means of military power. The consequence was that the oppressed who fled to this country necessarily connected military force with despotism and had a dread thereof. Of course, all this has long since passed into history. No reasonable person in this country to-day has the slightest shadow of fear of military despotism, nor of any interference whatever by military force in the conduct of civil affairs. The military and the civil are just as completely and permanently separated in this country as the church and the state are; the subjection of the military to the civil is settled and unchangeable. The only reason for advertising to the obsolete condition is to anticipate the action of those who will cite from the works of the founders of the republic excerpts showing a dread of military ascendancy in our government. Undoubtedly, at the time such sentiments were expressed there was a very real dread. At the present time such expressions are entirely inapplicable and do not furnish even a presentable pretext for opposing proper military preparation.

“It also seems proper, in passing, to refer to the frame of mind of those who use the word ‘militarism’ as the embodiment of the doctrine of brute force and loosely apply it to any organized preparation of military force, and therefore deprecate any adequate military preparation because it is a step in the direction of the condemned

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

'militarism.' It is perfectly apparent to any one who approaches the matter with an unprejudiced mind that what constitutes undesirable militarism, as distinguished from a necessary, proper, and adequate preparation of the military resources of the nation, depends upon the position in which each nation finds itself, and varies with every nation and with different conditions in each nation at different times. Every nation must have adequate force to protect itself from domestic insurrections, to enforce its laws, and to repel invasions; that is, every nation that has similar characteristics to those of a self-respecting man. (The Constitution obliges the United States to protect each State against invasion.) If it prepares and maintains more military force than is necessary for the purposes just named, then it is subject to the conviction, in the public opinion of the world, of having embraced 'militarism,' unless it intends aggression for a cause which the public opinion of the world conceives to be a righteous one. To the extent, however, that it confines its military preparedness to the purposes first mentioned, there is neither warrant nor justification in characterizing such action as 'militarism.' Those who would thus characterize it do so because they have reached the conclusion that a nation to-day can properly dispense with a prepared military force, and therefore they apply the word to any preparation or organization of the military resources of the nation. Not being able to conceive how a reasonable, prudent, patriotic man can reach such a conclusion, I cannot conceive any arguments or statements that would alter such a state of mind. It disregards all known facts, flies in the face of all experience, and must rest upon faith in that which has not yet been made manifest.

PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

“Whatever the future may hold in the way of agreements between nations, followed by actual disarmament thereof, of international courts of arbitration, and other greatly-to-be-desired measures to lessen or prevent conflict between nation and nation, we all know that at present these conditions are not existing. We can and will eagerly adapt ourselves to each beneficent development along these lines; but to merely enfeeble ourselves in the meantime would, in my view, be unthinkable folly. By neglecting and refusing to provide ourselves with the necessary means of self-protection and self-defense we could not hasten or in any way favorably influence the ultimate results we desire in these respects.”

.

XI

UTOPIA OR HELL?

SHERMAN's celebrated declaration about war has certainly been borne out by what has happened in Europe, and above all in Belgium, during the last four months. That war is hell I will concede as heartily as any ultra-pacifist. But the only alternative to war, that is to hell, is the adoption of some plan substantially like that which I herein advocate and which has itself been called utopian. It is possible that it is utopian for the time being; that is, that nations are not ready as yet to accept it. But it is also possible that after this war has come to an end the European contestants will be sufficiently sobered to be willing to consider some such proposal, and that the United States will abandon the folly of the pacifists and be willing to co-operate in some practical effort for the only kind of peace worth having, the peace of justice and righteousness.

The proposal is not in the least utopian, if by utopian we understand something that is theoretically desirable but impossible. What I propose is a working and realizable utopia. My proposal is that the efficient civilized nations—those that are efficient in war as well as in peace—shall join in a world league for the peace of righteousness. This means that they shall by solemn covenant agree as to their respective rights which shall not be questioned; that they shall agree that all other questions arising between them shall be submitted to a court of arbitration; and that they shall also agree—and here comes the vital and essential point of the whole

UTOPIA OR HELL?

system—to act with the combined military strength of all of them against any recalcitrant nation, against any nation which transgresses at the expense of any other nation the rights which it is agreed shall not be questioned, or which on arbitrable matters refuses to submit to the decree of the arbitral court.

In its essence this plan means that there shall be a great international treaty for the peace of righteousness; that this treaty shall explicitly secure to each nation and except from the operations of any international tribunal such matters as its territorial integrity, honor, and vital interest, and shall guarantee it in the possession of these rights; that this treaty shall therefore by its own terms explicitly provide against making foolish promises which cannot and ought not to be kept; that this treaty shall be observed with absolute good faith—for it is worse than useless to enter into treaties until their observance in good faith is efficiently secured. Finally, and most important, this treaty shall put force back of righteousness, shall provide a method of securing by the exercise of force the observance of solemn international obligations. This is to be accomplished by all the powers covenanting to put their whole strength back of the fulfilment of the treaty obligations, including the decrees of the court established under and in accordance with the treaty.

This proposal, therefore, meets the well-found objections against the foolish and mischievous all-inclusive arbitration treaties recently negotiated by Mr. Bryan under the direction of President Wilson. These treaties, like the all-inclusive arbitration treaties which President Taft started to negotiate, explicitly include as arbitrable, or as proper subjects for action by joint commissions, questions of honor and of vital national interest.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

No such provision should be made. No such provision is made as among private individuals in any civilized community. No man is required to "arbitrate" a slap in the face or an insult to his wife; no man is expected to "arbitrate" with a burglar or a highwayman. If in private life one individual takes action which immediately jeopardizes the life or limb or even the bodily well-being and the comfort of another, the wronged party does not have to go into any arbitration with the wrong-doer. On the contrary, the policeman or constable or sheriff immediately and summarily arrests the wrong-doer. The subsequent trial is not in the nature of arbitration at all. It is in the nature of a criminal proceeding. The wronged man is merely a witness and not necessarily an essential witness. For example, if, in the streets of New York, one man assaults another or steals his watch, and a policeman is not near by, the wronged man is not only justified in knocking down the assailant or thief, but fails in his duty if he does not so act. If a policeman is near by, the policeman promptly arrests the wrong-doer. The magistrate does not arbitrate the question of property rights in the watch nor anything about the assault. He satisfies himself as to the facts and delivers judgment against the offender.

A covenant between the United States and any other power to arbitrate all questions, including those involving national honor and interest, neither could nor ought to be kept. Such a covenant will be harmless only if no such questions ever arise. Now, all the worth of promises made in the abstract lies in the way in which they are fulfilled in the concrete. The Wilson-Bryan arbitration treaties are to be tested in this manner. The theory is, of course, that these treaties are to be made with all nations, and this is correct, because it would be

UTOPIA OR HELL?

a far graver thing to refuse to make them with some nations than to refuse to enter into them with any nation at all. The proposal is, in effect, and disregarding verbiage, that all questions shall be arbitrated or settled by the action of a joint commission—questions really vital to us would, as a matter of fact, be settled adversely to us pending such action. There are many such questions which in the concrete we would certainly not arbitrate. I mention one, only as an example. Do Messrs. Wilson and Bryan, or do they not, mean to arbitrate, if Japan should so desire, the question whether Japanese laborers are to be allowed to come in unlimited numbers to these shores? If they do mean this, let them explicitly state that fact—merely as an illustration—to the Senate committee, so that the Senate committee shall understand what it is doing when it ratifies these treaties. If they do not mean this, then let them promptly withdraw all the treaties so as not to expose us to the charge of hypocrisy, of making believe to do what we have no intention of doing, and of making promises which we have no intention of keeping. I have mentioned one issue only; but there are scores of other issues which I could mention which this government would under no circumstances agree to arbitrate.

In the same way, we must explicitly recognize that all the peace congresses and the like that have been held of recent years have done no good whatever to the cause of world peace. All their addresses and resolutions about arbitration and disarmament and such matters have been on the whole slightly worse than useless. Disregarding The Hague conventions, it is the literal fact that none of the peace congresses that have been held for the last fifteen or twenty years—to speak only

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

of those of which I myself know the workings—have accomplished the smallest particle of good. In so far as they have influenced free, liberty-loving, and self-respecting nations not to take measures for their own defense they have been positively mischievous. In no respect have they achieved anything worth achieving; and the present World War proves this beyond the possibility of serious question.

The Hague conventions stand by themselves. They have accomplished a certain amount—although only a small amount—of actual good. This was in so far as they furnished means by which nations which did not wish to quarrel were able to settle international disputes not involving their deepest interests. Questions between nations continually arise which are not of first-class importance; which, for instance, refer to some illegal act by or against a fishing-schooner, to some difficulty concerning contracts, to some question of the interpretation of a minor clause in a treaty, or to the sporadic action of some hot-headed or panic-struck official. In these cases, where neither nation wishes to go to war, The Hague court has furnished an easy method for the settlement of the dispute without war. This does not mark a very great advance; but it is an advance, and was worth making.

The fact that it is the only advance that The Hague court has accomplished makes the hysterical outbursts formerly indulged in by the ultrapacifists concerning it seem in retrospect exceedingly foolish. While I had never shared the hopes of these ultrapacifists, I had hoped for more substantial good than has actually come from The Hague conventions. This was because I accept promises as meaning something. The ultrapacifists, whether from timidity, from weakness, or from

UTOPIA OR HELL?

sheer folly, seem wholly unable to understand that the fulfilment of a promise has anything to do with making the promise. The most striking example that could possibly be furnished has been furnished by Belgium. Under my direction as President, the United States signed The Hague conventions. All the nations engaged in the present war signed these conventions, although one or two of the nations qualified their acceptance, or withheld their signatures to certain articles. This, however, did not in the least relieve the signatory powers from the duty to guarantee one another in the enjoyment of the rights supposed to be secured by the conventions. To make this guaranty worth anything, it was, of course, necessary actively to enforce it against any power breaking the convention or acting against its clear purpose. To make it really effective it should be enforced as quickly against non-signatory as against signatory powers; for to give a power free permission to do wrong if it did not sign would put a premium on non-signing, so far as big, aggressive powers are concerned.

I authorized the signature of the United States to these conventions. They forbid the violation of neutral territory, and, of course, the subjugation of unoffending neutral nations, as Belgium has been subjugated. They forbid such destruction as that inflicted on Louvain, Dinant, and other towns in Belgium, the burning of their priceless public libraries and wonderful halls and churches, and the destruction of cathedrals such as that at Rheims. They forbid the infliction of heavy pecuniary penalties and the taking of severe punitive measures at the expense of civilian populations. They forbid the bombardment—of course including the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes—of unfortified cities and of

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

cities whose defenses were not at the moment attacked. They forbid such actions as have been committed against various cities, Belgian, French, and English, not for military reason but for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population by killing and wounding men, women, and children who were non-combatants. All of these offenses have been committed by Germany. I took the action I did in directing these conventions to be signed on the theory and with the belief that the United States intended to live up to its obligations, and that our people understood that living up to solemn obligations, like any other serious performance of duty, means willingness to make effort and to incur risk. If I had for one moment supposed that signing these Hague conventions meant literally nothing whatever beyond the expression of a pious wish which any power was at liberty to disregard with impunity, in accordance with the dictation of self-interest, I would certainly not have permitted the United States to be a party to such a mischievous farce. President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, however, take the view that when the United States assumes obligations in order to secure small and unoffending neutral nations or non-combatants generally against hideous wrong, its action is not predicated on any intention to make the guaranty effective. They take the view that when we are asked to redeem in the concrete promises we made in the abstract, our duty is to disregard our obligations and to preserve ignoble peace for ourselves by regarding with cold-blooded and timid indifference the most frightful ravages of war committed at the expense of a peaceful and unoffending country. This is the cult of cowardice. That Messrs. Wilson and Bryan profess it and put it in action would be of small consequence if only they themselves were

UTOPIA OR HELL?

concerned. The importance of their action is that it commits the United States.

Elaborate technical arguments have been made to justify this timid and selfish abandonment of duty, this timid and selfish failure to work for the world peace of righteousness, by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. No sincere believer in disinterested and self-sacrificing work for peace can justify it; and work for peace will never be worth much unless accompanied by courage, effort, and self-sacrifice. Yet those very apostles of pacifism who, when they can do so with safety, scream loudest for peace, have made themselves objects of contemptuous derision by keeping silence in this crisis, or even by praising Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan for having thus abandoned the cause of peace. They are supported by the men who insist that all that we are concerned with is escaping even the smallest risk that might follow upon the performance of duty to any one except ourselves. This last is not a very exalted plea. It is, however, defensible. But if, as a nation, we intend to act in accordance with it, we must never promise to do anything for any one else.

The technical arguments as to The Hague conventions not requiring us to act will at once be brushed aside by any man who honestly and in good faith faces the situation. Either The Hague conventions meant something or else they meant nothing. If, in the event of their violation, none of the signatory powers were even to protest, then of course they meant nothing; and it was an act of unspeakable silliness to enter into them. If, on the other hand, they meant anything whatsoever, it was the duty of the United States, as the most powerful, or at least the richest and most populous, neutral nation, to take action for upholding them when their

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

violation brought such appalling disaster to Belgium. There is no escape from this alternative.

The first essential to working out successfully any scheme whatever for world peace is to understand that nothing can be accomplished unless the powers entering into the agreement act in precisely the reverse way from that in which President Wilson and Secretary Bryan have acted as regards The Hague conventions and the all-inclusive arbitration treaties during the past six months. The prime fact to consider in securing any peace agreement worth entering into, or that will have any except a mischievous effect, is that the nations entering into the agreement shall make no promises that ought not to be made, that they shall in good faith live up to the promises that are made, and that they shall put their whole strength unitedly back of these promises against any nation which refuses to carry out the agreement, or which, if it has not made the agreement, nevertheless violates the principles which the agreement enforces. In other words, international agreements intended to produce peace must proceed much along the lines of The Hague conventions; but a power signing them, as the United States signed The Hague conventions, must do so with the intention in good faith to see that they are carried out, and to use force to accomplish this, if necessary.

To violate these conventions, to violate neutrality treaties, as Germany has done in the case of Belgium, is a dreadful wrong. It represents the gravest kind of international wrong-doing. But it is really not quite so contemptible, it does not show such short-sighted and timid inefficiency, *and, above all, such selfish indifference to the cause of permanent and righteous peace* as has been shown by us of the United States (thanks to President

UTOPIA OR HELL?

Wilson and Secretary Bryan) in refusing to fulfil our solemn obligations by taking whatever action was necessary in order to clear our skirts from the guilt of tame acquiescence in a wrong which we had solemnly undertaken to oppose.

It has been a matter of very real regret to me to have to speak in the way I have felt obliged to speak as to German wrong-doing in Belgium, because so many of my friends, not only Germans, but Americans of German birth and even Americans of German descent, have felt aggrieved at my position. As regards my friends, the Americans of German birth or descent, I can only say that they are in honor bound to regard all international matters solely from the standpoint of the interest of the United States, and of the demands of a lofty international morality. I recognize no divided allegiance in American citizenship. As regards Germany, my stand is for the real interest of the mass of the German people. If the German people as a whole would only look at it rightly, they would see that my position is predicated upon the assumption that we ought to act as unhesitatingly in favor of Germany if Germany were wronged as in favor of Belgium when Belgium is wronged.

There are in Germany a certain number of Germans who adopt the Treitschke and Bernhardi view of Germany's destiny and of international morality generally. These men are fundamentally exactly as hostile to America as to all other foreign powers. They look down with contempt upon Americans as well as upon all other foreigners. They regard it as their right to subdue these inferior beings. They acknowledge toward them no duty, in the sense that duty is understood between equals. I call the attention of my fellow Americans of

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

German origin who wish this country to act toward Belgium, not in accordance with American traditions, interests, and ideals, but in accordance with the pro-German sympathies of certain citizens of German descent, to the statement of Treitschke that "to civilization at large the [Americanizing] of the German-Americans means a heavy loss. Among Germans there can no longer be any question that the civilization of mankind suffers every time a German is transformed into a Yankee."

I do not for one moment believe that the men who follow Treitschke in his hatred of and contempt for all non-Germans, and Bernhardt in his contempt for international morality, are a majority of the German people or even a very large minority. I think that the great majority of the Germans, who have approved Germany's action toward Belgium, have been influenced by the feeling that it was a vital necessity in order to save Germany from destruction and subjugation by France and Russia, perhaps assisted by England. Fear of national destruction will prompt men to do almost anything, and the proper remedy for outsiders to work for is the removal of the fear. If Germany were absolutely freed from danger of aggression on her eastern and western frontiers, I believe that German public sentiment would refuse to sanction such acts as those against Belgium. The only effective way to free it from this fear is to have outside nations like the United States in good faith undertake the obligation to defend Germany's honor and territorial integrity, if attacked, exactly as they would defend the honor and territorial integrity of Belgium, or of France, Russia, Japan, or England, or any other well-behaved, civilized power, if attacked.

UTOPIA OR HELL?

This can only be achieved by some such world league of peace as that which I advocate. Most important of all, it can only be achieved by the willingness and ability of great, free powers to put might back of right, to make their protest against wrong-doing effective by, if necessary, punishing the wrong-doer. It is this fact which makes the clamor of the pacifists for "peace, peace," without any regard to righteousness, so abhorrent to all right-thinking people. There are multitudes of professional pacifists in the United States, and of well-meaning but ill-informed persons who sympathize with them from ignorance. There are not a few astute persons, bankers of foreign birth, and others, who wish to take sinister advantage of the folly of these persons, in the interest of Germany. All of these men clamor for immediate peace. They wish the United States to take action for immediate peace or for a truce, under conditions designed to leave Belgium with her wrongs unredressed and in the possession of Germany. They strive to bring about a peace which would contain within itself the elements of frightful future disaster, by making no effective provision to prevent the repetition of such wrong-doing as has been inflicted upon Belgium. All of the men advocating such action, including the professional pacifists, the big business men largely of foreign birth, and the well-meaning but feeble-minded creatures among their allies, and including especially all those who from sheer timidity or weakness shrink from duty, occupy a thoroughly base and improper position. The peace advocates of this stamp stand on an exact par with men who, if there was an epidemic of lawlessness in New York, should come together to demand the immediate cessation of all activity by the police, and should propose to substitute for it a request that the highway-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

men, white-slavers, black-handers, and burglars cease their activities for the moment on condition of retaining undisturbed possession of the ill-gotten spoils they had already acquired. The only effective friend of peace in a big city is the man who makes the police force thoroughly efficient, who tries to remove the causes of crime, but who unhesitatingly insists upon the punishment of criminals. Pacifists who believe that all use of force in international matters can be abolished will do well to remember that the only efficient police forces are those whose members are scrupulously careful not to commit acts of violence when it is possible to avoid them, but who are willing and able, when the occasion arises, to subdue the worst kind of wrong-doers by means of the only argument that wrong-doers respect, namely, successful force. What is thus true in private life is similarly true in international affairs.

No man can venture to state the exact details that should be followed in securing such a world league for the peace of righteousness. But, not to leave the matter nebulous, I submit the following plan. It would prove entirely workable, if nations entered into it with good faith, and if they treated their obligations under it in the spirit in which the United States treated its obligations as regarded the independence of Cuba, giving good government to the Philippines, and building the Panama Canal; the same spirit in which England acted when the neutrality of Belgium was violated.

All the civilized powers which are able and willing to furnish and to use force, when force is required to back up righteousness—and only the civilized powers who possess virile manliness of character and the willingness to accept risk and labor when necessary to the performance of duty are entitled to be considered in this matter

UTOPIA OR HELL?

—should join to create an international tribunal and to provide rules in accordance with which that tribunal should act. These rules would have to accept the *status quo* at some given period; for the endeavor to redress all historical wrongs would throw us back into chaos. They would lay down the rule that the territorial integrity of each nation was inviolate; that it was to be guaranteed absolutely its sovereign rights in certain particulars, including, for instance, the right to decide the terms on which immigrants should be admitted to its borders for purposes of residence, citizenship, or business; in short, all its rights in matters affecting its honor and vital interest. Each nation should be guaranteed against having any of these specified rights infringed upon. They would not be made arbitrable, any more than an individual's right to life and limb is made arbitrable; they would be mutually guaranteed. All other matters that could arise between these nations should be settled by the international court. The judges should act not as national representatives, but purely as judges, and in any given case it would probably be well to choose them by lot, excluding, of course, the representatives of the powers whose interests were concerned. Then, and most important, the nations should severally guarantee to use their entire military force, if necessary, against any nation which defied the decrees of the tribunal or which violated any of the rights which in the rules it was expressly stipulated should be reserved to the several nations, the rights to their territorial integrity and the like. Under such conditions—to make matters concrete—Belgium would be safe from any attack such as that made by Germany, and Germany would be relieved from the haunting fear its people now have lest the Russians and the French,

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

backed by other nations, smash the empire and its people.

In addition to the contracting powers, a certain number of outside nations should be named as entitled to the benefits of the court. These nations should be chosen from those which are as civilized and well-behaved as the great contracting nations, but which, for some reason or other, are unwilling or unable to guarantee to help execute the decrees of the court by force. They would have no right to take part in the nomination of judges, for no people are entitled to do anything toward establishing a court unless they are able and willing to face the risk, labor, and self-sacrifice necessary in order to put police power behind the court. But they would be treated with exact justice; and in the event of any one of the great contracting powers having trouble with one of them, they would be entitled to go into court, have a decision rendered, and see the decision supported, precisely as in the case of a dispute between any two of the great contracting powers themselves.

No power should be admitted into the first circle, that of the contracting powers, unless it is civilized, well-behaved, and able to do its part in enforcing the decrees of the court. China, for instance, could not be admitted, nor could Turkey, although for different reasons, whereas such nations as Germany, France, England, Italy, Russia, the United States, Japan, Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, Uruguay, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium would all be entitled to go in. If China continues to behave as well as it has during the last few years it might soon go into the second line of powers which would be entitled to the benefits of the court, although not entitled to send judges to it. Mexico would, of course, not be entitled to admission at

UTOPIA OR HELL?

present into either circle. At present every European power with the exception of Turkey would be so entitled; but sixty years ago the kingdom of Naples, for instance, would not have been entitled to come in, and there are various South American communities which at the present time would not be entitled to come in; and, of course, this would at present be true of most independent Asiatic states and of all independent African states. The council should have power to exclude any nation which completely fell from civilization, as Mexico, partly with the able assistance of President Wilson's administration, has fallen during the past few years. There are various South and Central American states which have never been entitled to the consideration as civilized, orderly, self-respecting powers which would entitle them to be treated on terms of equality in the fashion indicated. As regards these disorderly and weak outsiders, it might well be that after a while some method would be devised to deal with them by common agreement of the civilized powers; but until this was devised and put into execution they would have to be left as at present.

Of course, grave difficulties would be encountered in devising such a plan and in administering it afterward, and no human being can guarantee that it would absolutely succeed. But I believe that it could be made to work and that it would mark a very great improvement over what obtains now. At this moment there is hell in Belgium and hell in Mexico; and the ultrapacifists in this country have their full share of the responsibility for this hell. They are not primary factors in producing it. They lack the virile power to be primary factors in producing anything, good or evil, that needs daring and endurance. But they are secondary factors; for the man

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

who tamely acquiesces in wrong-doing is a secondary factor in producing that wrong-doing. Most certainly the proposed plan would be dependent upon reasonable good faith for its successful working, but this is only to say what is also true of every human institution. Under the proposed plan there would be a strong likelihood of bettering world conditions. If it is a utopia, it is a utopia of a very practical kind.

Such a plan is as yet in the realm of mere speculation. At present the essential thing for each self-respecting, liberty-loving nation to do is to put itself in position to defend its own rights. Recently President Wilson, in his message to Congress, has announced that we are in no danger and will not be in any danger; and ex-President Taft has stated that the awakening of interest in our defenses indicates "mild hysteria." Such utterances show fatuous indifference to the teachings of history. They represent precisely the attitude which a century ago led to the burning of Washington by a small expeditionary hostile force, and to such paralyzing disaster in war as almost to bring about the break-up of the Union. In his message President Wilson justifies a refusal to build up our navy by asking—as if we were discussing a question of pure metaphysics—"When will the experts tell us just what kind of ships we should construct—and when will they be right for ten years together? Who shall tell us now what sort of navy to build?" and actually adds, after posing and leaving unanswered these questions: "I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no need to discuss it." Lovers of Dickens who turn to the second paragraph of Chapter XI of "Our Mutual Friend" will find this attitude of President Wilson toward preparedness interestingly paralleled by the attitude Mr. Podsnap took in

UTOPIA OR HELL?

“getting rid of disagreeables” by the use of the phrases “I don’t want to know about them! I refuse to discuss them! I don’t admit them!” thus “clearing the world of its most difficult problems by sweeping them behind him. For they affronted him.” If during the last ten years England’s attitude toward preparedness for war and the upbuilding of her navy had been determined by statesmanship such as is set forth in these utterances of President Wilson, the island would now be trampled into bloody mire, as Belgium has been trampled. If Germany had followed such advice—or rather no advice—during the last ten years, she would now have been wholly unable so much as to assert her rights anywhere.

Let us immediately make our navy thoroughly efficient; and this can only be done by reversing the policy that President Wilson has followed for twenty-two months. Recently Secretary Daniels has said, as quoted by the press, that he intends to provide for the safety of both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts by dividing our war fleet between the two oceans. Such division of the fleet, having in view the disaster which exactly similar action brought on Russia ten years ago, would be literally a crime against the nation. Neither our foreign affairs nor our naval affairs can be satisfactorily managed when the President is willing to put in their respective departments gentlemen like Messrs. Bryan and Daniels. President Wilson would not have ventured to make either of these men head of the Treasury Department, because he would thereby have offended the concrete interests of American business men. But as secretary of state and secretary of the navy the harm they do is to the country as a whole. No concrete interest is immediately affected; and, as it is only our own common welfare in the future, only the welfare of

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

our children, only the honor and interest of the United States through the generations that are concerned, it is deemed safe to disregard this welfare and to take chances with our national honor and interest.

XII

SUMMING UP

"BLESSED are the peacemakers," not merely the peace-lovers; for action is what makes thought operative and valuable. Above all, the peace-prattlers are in no way blessed. On the contrary, only mischief has sprung from the activities of the professional peace-prattlers, the ultrapacifists, who, with the shrill clamor of eunuchs, preach the gospel of the milk and water of virtue and scream that belief in the efficacy of diluted moral mush is essential to salvation.

It seems necessary every time I state my position to guard against the counterwords of wilful folly by reiterating that my disagreement with the peace-at-any-price men, the ultrapacifists, is not in the least because they favor peace. I object to them, first, because they have proved themselves futile and impotent in working for peace, and, second, because they commit what is not merely the capital error but the crime against morality of failing to uphold righteousness as the all-important end toward which we should strive. In actual practice they advocate the peace of unrighteousness just as fervently as they advocate the peace of righteousness. I have as little sympathy as they have for the men who deify mere brutal force, who insist that power justifies wrong-doing, and who declare that there is no such thing as international morality. But the ultrapacifists really play into the hands of these men. To condemn equally might which backs right and might which overthrows right is to render positive service to wrong-doers.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

It is as if in private life we condemned alike both the policeman and the dynamiter or black-hand kidnapper or white-slaver whom he has arrested. To denounce the nation that wages war in self-defense, or from a generous desire to relieve the oppressed, in the same terms in which we denounce war waged in a spirit of greed or wanton folly stands on an exact par with denouncing equally a murderer and the policeman who, at peril of his life and by force of arms, arrests the murderer. In each case the denunciation denotes not loftiness of soul but weakness both of mind and of morals.

In a capital book, by a German, Mr. Edmund von Mach, entitled "What Germany Wants," there is the following noble passage at the outset:

"During the preparation of this book the writer received from his uncle, a veteran army officer living in Dresden, a brief note containing the following laconic record:

" '1793, your great-grandfather at Kostheim.

" '1815, your grandfather at Liegnitz.

" '1870, myself—all severely wounded by French bullets.

" '1914, my son, captain in the 6th Regiment of Dragoons.

" 'Four generations obliged to fight the French !'

"When the writer turns to his American friends of French descent, he finds there similar records, and often even greater sorrow, for death has come to many of them. In Europe their families and his have looked upon each other as enemies for generations, while a few years in the clarifying atmosphere of America have made friends of former Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, and Englishmen.

"Jointly they pray that the present war may not be

SUMMING UP

carried to such a pass that an early and honorable peace becomes impossible for any one of these great nations. Is it asking too much that America may be vouchsafed in not too distant a future to do for their respective native lands what the American institutions have done for them individually, help them to regard each other at their true worth, unblinded by traditional hatred or fiery passion?"

It is in the spirit of this statement that we Americans should act. We are a people different from, but akin to, all the nations of Europe. We should feel a real friendship for each of the contesting powers and a real desire to work so as to secure justice for each. This cannot be done by preserving a tame and spiritless neutrality which treats good and evil on precisely the same basis. Such a neutrality never has enabled and never will enable any nation to do a great work for righteousness. Our true course should be to judge each nation on its conduct, unhesitatingly to antagonize every nation that does ill as regards the point on which it does ill, and equally without hesitation to act, as cool-headed and yet generous wisdom may dictate, so as disinterestedly to further the welfare of all.

One of the greatest of international duties ought to be the protection of small, highly civilized, well-behaved, and self-respecting states from oppression and conquest by their powerful military neighbors. Such nations as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Uruguay, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden play a great and honorable part in the development of civilization. The subjugation of any one of them is a crime against, the destruction of any one of them is a loss to, mankind.

I feel in the strongest way that we should have interfered, at least to the extent of the most emphatic diplo-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

matic protest and at the very outset—and then by whatever further action was necessary—in regard to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium; for this act was the earliest and the most important and, in its consequences, the most ruinous of all the violations and offenses against treaties committed by any combatant during the war. But it was not the only one. The Japanese and English forces not long after violated Chinese neutrality in attacking Kiao-Chau. It has been alleged and not denied that the British ship *Highflyer* sunk the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* in neutral Spanish waters, this being also a violation of The Hague conventions; and on October 10th the German Government issued an official protest about alleged violations of the Geneva convention by the French. Furthermore, the methods employed in strewing portions of the seas with floating mines have been such as to warrant the most careful investigation by any neutral nations which treat neutrality pacts and Hague conventions as other than merely dead letters. Not a few offenses have been committed against our own people.

If, instead of observing a timid and spiritless neutrality, we had lived up to our obligations by taking action in all of these cases without regard to which power it was that was alleged to have done wrong, we would have followed the only course that would both have told for world righteousness and have served our own self-respect. The course actually followed by Messrs. Wilson, Bryan, and Daniels has been to permit our own power for self-defense steadily to diminish while at the same time refusing to do what we were solemnly bound to do in order to protest against wrong and to render some kind of aid to weak nations that had been wronged. Inasmuch as, in the first and greatest

SUMMING UP

and the most ruinous case of violation of neutral rights and of international morality, this nation, under the guidance of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan, kept timid silence and dared not protest, it would be—and is—an act of deliberate bad faith to protest only as regards subsequent and less important violations. Of course, if, as a people, we frankly take the ground that our actions are based upon nothing whatever but our own selfish and short-sighted interest, it is possible to protest only against violations of neutrality that at the moment unfavorably affect our own interests. Inaction is often itself the most offensive form of action; the administration has persistently refused to live up to the solemn national obligations to strive to protect other unoffending nations from wrong; and this conduct adds a peculiar touch of hypocrisy to the action taken at the same time in signing a couple of score of all-inclusive arbitration treaties pretentiously heralded as serving world righteousness. If we had acted as we ought to have acted regarding Belgium we could then with a clear conscience have made effective protest regarding every other case of violation of the rights of neutrals or of offenses committed by the belligerents against one another or against us in violation of The Hague conventions. Moreover, the attitude of the administration has not even placated the powers it was desired to please. Thanks to its action, the United States during the last five months has gained neither the good-will nor the respect of any of the combatants. On the contrary, it has steadily grown rather more disliked and rather less respected by all of them.

In facing a difficult and critical situation, any administration is entitled to a free hand until it has had time to develop the action which it considers appropri-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

ate, for often there is more than one way in which it is possible to take efficient action. But when so much time has passed, either without action or with only mischievous action, as gravely to compromise both the honor and the interest of the country, then it becomes a duty for self-respecting citizens to whom their country is dear to speak out. From the very outset I felt that the administration was following a wrong course. But no action of mine could make it take the right course, and there was a possibility that there was some object aside from political advantage in the course followed. I kept silence as long as silence was compatible with regard for the national honor and welfare. I spoke only when it became imperative to speak under penalty of tame acquiescence in tame failure to perform national duty. It has become evident that the administration has had no plan whatever save the dexterous avoidance of all responsibility and therefore of all duty, and the effort to persuade our people as a whole that this inaction was for their interest—combined with other less openly expressed and less worthy efforts of purely political type.

There is therefore no longer any reason for failure to point out that if the President and secretary of state had been thoroughly acquainted in advance, as of course they ought to have been acquainted, with the European situation, and if they had possessed an intelligent and resolute purpose squarely to meet their heavy responsibilities and thereby to serve the honor of this country and the interest of mankind, they would have taken action on July 29th, 30th, or 31st, certainly not later than August 1st. On such occasions there is a peculiar applicability in the old proverb: Nine-tenths of wisdom consists in being wise in time. If those responsible for

SUMMING UP

the management of our foreign affairs had been content to dwell in a world of fact instead of a world of third-rate fiction, they would have understood that at such a time of world crisis it was an unworthy avoidance of duty to fuss with silly little all-inclusive arbitration treaties when the need of the day demanded that they devote all their energies to the terrible problems of the day. They would have known that a German invasion of Switzerland was possible but improbable and a German invasion of Belgium overwhelmingly probable. They would have known that vigorous action by the United States Government, taken with such entire good faith as to make it evident that it was in the interest of Belgium and not in the interest of France and England, and that if there was occasion it would be taken against France and England as quickly as against Germany, might very possibly have resulted in either putting a stop to the war or in localizing and narrowly circumscribing its area. It is, of course, possible that the action would have failed of its immediate purpose. But even in that case it cannot be doubted that it would have been efficient as a check upon the subsequent wrongs committed.

Nor was the opportunity for action limited in time. Even if the administration had failed thus to act at the outset of the war, the protests officially made both by the German Emperor and by the Belgian Government to the President as to alleged misconduct in the prosecution of the war not only gave him warrant for action but required him to act. Meanwhile, from the moment when the war was declared, it became inexcusable of the administration not to take immediate steps to put the navy into efficient shape, and at least to make our military forces on land more respectable. It is possible

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

not to justify but to explain the action of the administration in using the navy for the sixteen months prior to this war in such a way as greatly to impair its efficiency; for of course when the President selected Mr. Daniels as secretary of the navy he showed, on the supposition that he was not indifferent to its welfare, an entire ignorance of what that welfare demanded; and therefore the failure to keep the navy efficient may have been due at first to mere inability to exercise foresight. But with war impending, such failure to exercise foresight became inexcusable. None of the effective fighting craft are of any real use so far as Mexico is concerned. The navy should at once have been assembled in Northern waters, either in the Atlantic or the Pacific, and immediate steps taken to bring it to the highest point of efficiency.

It is because I believe our attitude should be one of sincere good-will toward all nations that I so strongly feel that we should endeavor to work for a league of peace among all nations rather than trust to alliances with any particular group. Moreover, alliances are very shifty and uncertain. Within twenty years England has regarded France as her immediately dangerous opponent; within ten years she has felt that Russia was the one power against which she must at all costs guard herself; and during the same period there have been times when Belgium has hated England with a peculiar fervor. Alliances must be based on self-interest and must continually shift. But in such a world league as that of which we speak and dream, the test would be conduct and not merely selfish interest, and so there would be no shifting of policy.

It is not yet opportune to discuss in detail the exact method by which the nations of the world shall put the

SUMMING UP

collective strength of civilization behind the purpose of civilization to do right, using as an instrumentality for peace such a world league. I have in the last chapter given the bare outline of such a plan. Probably at the outset it would be an absolute impossibility to devise a non-national or purely international police force which would be effective in a great crisis. The prime necessity is that all the great nations should agree in good faith to use their combined warlike strength to coerce any nation, whichever one it may be, that declines to abide the decision of some competent international tribunal.

Our business is to create the beginnings of international order out of the world of nations as these nations actually exist. We do not have to deal with a world of pacifists and therefore we must proceed on the assumption that treaties will never acquire sanctity until nations are ready to seal them with their blood. We are not striving for peace in heaven. That is not our affair. What we were bidden to strive for is "peace on earth and good-will toward men." To fulfil this injunction it is necessary to treat the earth as it is and men as they are, as an indispensable prerequisite to making the earth a better place in which to live and men better fit to live in it. It is inexcusable moral culpability on our part to pretend to carry out this injunction in such fashion as to nullify it; and this we do if we make believe that the earth is what it is not and if our professions of bringing good-will toward men are in actual practice shown to be empty shams. Peace congresses, peace parades, the appointment and celebration of days of prayer for peace, and the like, which result merely in giving the participants the feeling that they have accomplished something and are therefore to be excused from hard, prac-

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

tical work for righteousness, are empty shams. Treaties such as the recent all-inclusive arbitration treaties are worse than empty shams and convict us as a nation of moral culpability when our representatives sign them at the same time that they refuse to risk anything to make good the signatures we have already affixed to The Hague conventions.

Moderate and sensible treaties which mean something and which can and will be enforced mark a real advance for the human race. As has been well said: "It is our business to make no treaties which we are not ready to maintain with all our resources, for every such 'scrap of paper' is like a forged check—an assault on our credit in the world." Promises that are idly given and idly broken represent profound detriment to the morality of nations. Until no promise is idly entered into and until promises that have once been made are kept, at no matter what cost of risk and effort and positive loss, just so long will distrust and suspicion and wrong-doing rack the world. No honest lawyer will hesitate to advise his client against signing a contract either detrimental to his interests or impossible of fulfilment; and the individual who signs such a contract at once makes himself either an object of suspicion to sound-headed men or else an object of derision to all men. One of the stock jokes in the comic columns of the newspapers refers to the man who swears off or takes the pledge, or makes an indefinite number of good resolutions on New Year's Day, and fails to keep his pledge or promise or resolution; this was one of Mark Twain's favorite subjects for derision. The man who continually makes new promises without living up to those he has already made, and who takes pledges which he breaks, is rightly treated as an object for contemptuous fun. The nation which

SUMMING UP

behaves in like manner deserves no higher consideration.

The conduct of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan in signing these all-inclusive treaties at the same time that they have kept silent about the breaking of The Hague conventions has represented the kind of wrongdoing to this nation that would be represented in private life by the conduct of the individuals who sign such contracts as those mentioned. The administration has looked on without a protest while The Hague conventions have been torn up and thrown to the wind. It has watched the paper structure of good-will collapse without taking one step to prevent it; and yet foolish pacifists, the very men who in the past have been most vociferous about international morality, have praised it for this position. The assertion that our neutrality carries with it the obligation to be silent when our own Hague conventions are destroyed represents an active step against the peace of righteousness. The only way to show that our faith in public law was real was to protest against the assault on international morality implied in the invasion of Belgium.

Unless some one at some time is ready to take some chance for the sake of internationalism, that is of international morality, it will remain what it is to-day, an object of derision to aggressive nations. Even if nothing more than an emphatic protest had been made against what was done in Belgium—it is not at this time necessary for me to state exactly what, in my judgment, ought to have been done—the foundations would have been laid for an effective world opinion against international cynicism. Pacifists claim that we have acted so as to preserve the good-will of Europe and to exercise a guiding influence in the settlement of the war. This

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

is an idea which appeals to the thoughtless, for it gratifies our desire to keep out of trouble and also our vanity by the hope that we shall do great things with small difficulty. It may or may not be that the settlement will finally be made by a peace congress in which the President of the United States will hold titular position of headship. But under conditions as they are now the real importance of the President in such a peace congress will be comparable to the real importance of the drum-major when he walks at the head of a regiment. Small boys regard the drum-major as much more important than the regimental commander; and the pacifist grown-ups who applaud peace congresses sometimes show as regards the drum-majors of these congresses the same touching lack of insight which small boys show toward real drum-majors. As a matter of fact, if the United States enters such a congress with nothing but a record of comfortable neutrality or tame acquiescence in violated Hague conventions, plus an array of vague treaties with no relation to actual facts, it will be allowed to fill the position of international drum-major and of nothing more; and even this position it will be allowed to fill only so long as it suits the convenience of the men who have done the actual fighting. The warring nations will settle the issues in accordance with their own strength and position. Under such conditions we shall be treated as we deserve to be treated, as a nation of people who mean well feebly, whose words are not backed by deeds, who like to prattle about both their own strength and their own righteousness, but who are unwilling to run the risks without which righteousness cannot be effectively served, and who are also unwilling to undergo the toil of intelligent and hard-working preparation without which strength when tested proves weakness.

SUMMING UP

In this world it is as true of nations as of individuals that the things best worth having are rarely to be obtained in cheap fashion. There is nothing easier than to meet in congresses and conventions and pass resolutions in favor of virtue. There is also nothing more futile unless those passing the resolutions are willing to make them good by labor and endurance and active courage and self-denial. Readers of John Hay's poems will remember the scorn therein expressed for those who "resoloot till the cows come home," but do not put effort back of their words. Those who would teach our people that service can be rendered or greatness attained in easy, comfortable fashion, without facing risk, hardship, and difficulty, are teaching what is false and mischievous. Courage, hard work, self-mastery, and intelligent effort are all essential to successful life. As a rule, the slothful ease of life is in inverse proportion to its true success. This is true of the private lives of farmers, business men, and mechanics. It is no less true of the life of the nation which is made up of these farmers, business men, and mechanics.

As yet, as events have most painfully shown, there is nothing to be expected by any nation in a great crisis from anything except its own strength. Under these circumstances it is criminal in the United States not to prepare. Critics have stated that in advocating universal military service on the Swiss plan in this country, I am advocating militarism. I am not concerned with mere questions of terminology. The plan I advocate would be a corrective of every evil which we associate with the name of militarism. It would tend for order and self-respect among our people. Not the smallest evil among the many evils that exist in America is due to militarism. Save in the crisis of the Civil War there has been no militarism in the United States and the only

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

militarist President we have ever had was Abraham Lincoln. Universal service of the Swiss type would be educational in the highest and best sense of the word. In Switzerland, as compared with the United States, there are, relatively to the population, only one-tenth the number of murders and of crimes of violence. Doubtless other causes have contributed to this, but doubtless also the intelligent collective training of the Swiss people in habits of obedience, of self-reliance, self-restraint and endurance, of applied patriotism and collective action, has been a very potent factor in producing this good result.

As I have already said, I know of my own knowledge that two nations which on certain occasions were obliged, perhaps as much by our fault as by theirs, to take into account the question of possible war with the United States, planned in such event to seize the Panama Canal and to take and ransom or destroy certain of our great coast cities. They planned this partly in the belief that our navy would intermittently be allowed to become extremely inefficient, just as during the last twenty months it has become inefficient, and partly in the belief that our people are so wholly unmilitary, and so ridden to death on the one hand by foolish pacifists and on the other by brutal materialists whose only God is money, that we would not show ourselves either resolutely patriotic or efficient even in what belated action our utter lack of preparation permitted us to take. I believe that these nations were and are wrong in their estimate of the underlying strength of the American character. I believe that if war did really come both the ultrapacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, and the merely brutal materialists, who count all else as nothing compared to the gratification of their greed for gain or

SUMMING UP

their taste for ease, for pleasure, and for vacuous excitement, would be driven before the gale of popular feeling as leaves are driven through the fall woods. But such aroused public feeling in the actual event would be wholly inadequate to make good our failure to prepare.

We should in all humility imitate not a little of the spirit so much in evidence among the Germans and the Japanese, the two nations which in modern times have shown the most practical type of patriotism, the greatest devotion to the common weal, the greatest success in developing their economic resources and abilities from within, and the greatest far-sightedness in safeguarding the country against possible disaster from without. In *The Journal of the Military Service Institution* for the months of November and December of the present year will be found a quotation from a Japanese military paper, *The Comrades' Magazine*, which displays an amount of practical good sense together with patriotism and devotion to the welfare of the average man which could well be copied by our people and which is worthy of study by every intelligent American. Germany's success in industrialism has been as extraordinary and noteworthy as her success in securing military efficiency, and fundamentally has been due to the development of the same qualities in the nation.

At present the United States does not begin to get adequate return in the way of efficient preparation for defense from the amount of money appropriated every year. Both the Executive and Congress are responsible for this—and of course this means that the permanent and ultimate responsibility rests on the people. It is really less a question of spending more money than of knowing how to get the best results for the money that we do spend. Most emphatically there should be a

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

comprehensive plan both for defense and for expenditure. The best military and naval authorities—not merely the senior officers but the best officers—should be required to produce comprehensive plans for battle-ships, for submarines, for air-ships, for proper artillery, for a more efficient Regular Army, and for a great popular reserve behind the army. Every useless military post should be forthwith abandoned; and this cannot be done save by getting Congress to accept or reject plans for defense and expenditure in their entirety. If each congressman or senator can put in his special plea for the erection or retention of a military post for non-military reasons, and for the promotion or favoring of some given officer or group of officers also for non-military reasons, we can rest assured that good results can never be obtained. Here, again, what is needed is not plans by outsiders but the insistence by outsiders upon the army and navy officers being required to produce the right plans, being backed up when they do produce the right plans, and being held to a strict accountability for any failure, active or passive, in their duty.

Moreover, these plans must be treated as part of the coherent policy of the nation in international affairs. With a gentleman like Mr. Bryan in the State Department it may be accepted as absolutely certain that we never will have the highest grade of efficiency in the Departments of War and of the Navy. With a gentleman like Mr. Daniels at the head of the navy, it may be accepted as certain that the navy will not be brought to the level of its possible powers. This means that the people as a whole must demand of their leaders that they treat seriously the navy and army and our foreign policy.

The waste in our navy and army is very great. This

SUMMING UP

is inevitable as long as we do not discriminate against the inefficient and as long as we fail to put a premium upon efficiency. When I was President I found out that a very large proportion of the old officers of the army and even of the navy were physically incompetent to perform many of their duties. The public was wholly indifferent on the subject. Congress would not act. As a preliminary, and merely as a preliminary, I established a regulation that before promotion officers should be required to walk fifty miles or ride one hundred miles in three days. This was in no way a sufficient test of an officer's fitness. It merely served to rid the service of men whose unfitness was absolutely ludicrous. Yet in Congress and in the newspapers an extraordinary din was raised against this test on the ground that it was unjust to faithful elderly officers! The pacifists promptly assailed it on the ground that to make the army efficient was a "warlike" act. All kinds of philanthropists, including clergymen and college presidents, wrote me that my action showed not only callousness of heart but also a regrettable spirit of militarism. Any officer who because of failure to come up to the test or for other reasons was put out of the service was certain to receive ardent congressional championship; and every kind of pressure was brought to bear on behalf of the unfit, while hardly the slightest effective championship was given the move from any outside source. This was because public opinion was absolutely uneducated on the subject. In our country the men who in time of peace speak loudest about war are usually the ultra-pacifists whose activities have been shown to be absolutely futile for peace, but who do a little mischief by persuading a number of well-meaning persons that preparedness for war is unnecessary.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

It is not desirable that civilians, acting independently of and without the help of military and naval advisers, shall prepare minute or detailed plans as to what ought to be done for our national defense. But civilians are competent to advocate plans in outline exactly as I have here advocated them. Moreover, and most important, they are competent to try to make public opinion effective in these matters. A democracy must have proper leaders. But these leaders must be able to appeal to a proper sentiment in the democracy. It is the prime duty of every right-thinking citizen at this time to aid his fellow countrymen to understand the need of working wisely for peace, the folly of acting unwisely for peace, and, above all, the need of real and thorough national preparedness against war.

Former Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte, in one of his admirable articles, in which he discusses armaments and treaties, has spoken as follows:

“Indeed, it is so obviously impolitic, on the part of the administration and its party friends, to avow a purpose to keep the people in the dark as to our preparedness (or rather as to our virtually admitted unpreparedness) to protect the national interests, safety, and honor, that a practical avowal of such purpose on their part would seem altogether incredible, but for certain rather notorious facts developed by our experience during the last year and three-quarters.

“It has gradually become evident, or, at least, probable that the mind (wherever that mind may be located) which determines, or has, as yet, determined, our foreign policy under President Wilson, really relies upon a timid neutrality and innumerable treaties of general arbitration as sufficient to protect us from foreign aggression; and advisedly wishes to keep us virtually un-

SUMMING UP

armed and helpless to defend ourselves, so that a sense of our weakness may render us sufficiently pusillanimous to pocket all insults, to submit to any form of outrage, to resent no provocation, and to abdicate completely and forever the dignity and the duties of a great nation.

“In the absence of actual experience, a strong effort of the imagination would be required, at least on the part of the writer, to conceive of anybody’s not finding such an outlook for his country utterly intolerable; but incredulity must yield to decisive proof. Even the votaries of this novel cult of cowardice, however, are evidently compelled to recognize that, as yet, they constitute a very small minority among Americans, and, for this reason, they would keep their fellow countrymen, as far as may be practicable, in the dark as to our national weakness and our national dangers; they delight in gagging soldiers and sailors and, to the extent of their power, everybody else who may speak with any authority, and, if they could, would shut out every ray of light which might aid public opinion to see things as they are.

.

“There is no room for difference as to the utter absurdity of reliance on treaties, no matter how solemn or with whomsoever made, as substitutes for proper armaments to assure the national safety; Belgium’s fate stares in the face any one who should even dream of this. Her neutrality was established and guaranteed, not by one treaty but by several treaties, not by one power but by all the powers; yet she has been completely ruined because she relied upon these treaties, refused to violate them herself and tried, in good faith, to fulfil the obligations they imposed on her.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

“For any public man, with this really terrible object-lesson before his eyes, to seriously ask us to believe that arbitration treaties or Hague tribunals or anything else within that order of ideas can be trusted to take the place of preparation impeaches either his sincerity or his sanity, and impeaches no less obviously the common sense of his readers or hearers.

“A nation unable to protect itself may have to pay a frightful price nowadays as a penalty for the misfortune of weakness; the Belgians may be, in a measure, consoled for their misfortune by the world’s respect and sympathy; in the like case, we should be further and justly punished by the world’s unbounded and merited contempt, for our weakness would be the fruit of our own ignominious cowardice and incredible folly.”

Secretary Garrison in his capital report says that if our outlying possessions are even insufficiently manned our mobile home army will consist of less than twenty-five thousand men, only about twice the size of the police force of New York City. Yet, in the face of this, certain newspaper editors, college presidents, pacifist bankers and, I regret to say, certain clergymen and philanthropists enthusiastically champion the attitude of President Wilson and Mr. Bryan in refusing to prepare for war. As one of them put it the other day: “The way to prevent war is not to fight.” Luxembourg did not fight! Does this gentleman regard the position of Luxembourg at this moment as enviable? China has not recently fought. Does the gentleman think that China’s position is in consequence a happy one? If advisers of this type, if these college presidents and clergymen and editors of organs of culture and the philanthropists who give this advice spoke only for themselves, if the humiliation and disgrace were to come only

SUMMING UP

on them, no one would have a right to object. They have servile souls; and if they chose serfdom of the body for themselves only, it would be of small consequence to others. But, unfortunately, their words have a certain effect upon this country; and that effect is intolerably evil. Doubtless it is the influence of these men which is largely responsible for the attitude of the President. The President attacks preparedness in the name of anti-militarism. The preparedness we advocate is that of Switzerland, the least militaristic of countries. Autocracy may use preparedness for the creation of an aggressive and provocative militarism that invites and produces war; but in a democracy preparedness means security against aggression and the best guaranty of peace. The President in his message has in effect declared that his theory of neutrality, which is carried to the point of a complete abandonment of the rights of innocent small nations, and his theory of non-preparedness, which is carried to the point of gross national inefficiency, are both means for securing to the United States a leading position in bringing about peace. The position he would thus secure would be merely that of drum-major at the peace conference; and he would do well to remember that if the peace that is brought about should result in leaving Belgium's wrongs unredressed and turning Belgium over to Germany, in enthroning militarism as the chief factor in the modern world, and in consecrating the violation of treaties, then the United States, by taking part in such a conference, would have rendered an evil service to mankind.

At present our navy is in wretched shape. Our army is infinitesimal. This large, rich Republic is far less efficient from a military standpoint than Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark. In spite of the fact that the officers

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

and enlisted men of our navy and army offer material on the whole better than the officers and men of any other navy or army, these two services have for so many years been neglected by Congress, and during the last two years have been so mishandled by the administration, that at the present time an energetic and powerful adversary could probably with ease drive us not only from the Philippines but from Hawaii, and take possession of the Canal and Alaska. If invaded by a serious army belonging to some formidable Old World empire, we would be for many months about as helpless as China; and, as nowadays large armies can cross the ocean, we might be crushed beyond hope of recuperation inside of a decade. Yet those now at the head of public affairs refuse themselves to face facts and seek to mislead the people as to the facts.

President Wilson is, of course, fully and completely responsible for Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan appreciates this and loyally endeavors to serve the President and to come to his defense at all times. As soon as President Wilson had announced that there was no need of preparations to defend ourselves, because we loved everybody and everybody loved us and because our mission was to spread the gospel of peace, Mr. Bryan came to his support with hearty enthusiasm and said: "The President knows that if this country needed a million men, and needed them in a day, the call would go out at sunrise and the sun would go down on a million men in arms." One of the President's staunchest newspaper adherents lost its patience over this utterance and remarked: "More foolish words than these of the secretary of state were never spoken by mortal man in reply to a serious argument." However, Mr. Bryan had a good precedent, although he probably did not know it.

SUMMING UP

Pompey, when threatened by Cæsar, and told that his side was unprepared, responded that he had only to "stamp his foot" and legions would spring from the ground. In the actual event, the "stamping" proved as effectual against Cæsar as Mr. Bryan's "call" would under like circumstances. I once heard a Bryanite senator put Mr. Bryan's position a little more strongly than it occurred to Mr. Bryan himself to put it. The senator in question announced that we needed no Regular Army, because in the event of war "ten million free-men would spring to arms, the equals of any regular soldiers in the world." I do not question the emotional or oratorical sincerity either of Mr. Bryan or of the senator. Mr. Bryan is accustomed to performing in vacuo; and both he and President Wilson, as regards foreign affairs, apparently believe they are living in a world of two dimensions, and not in the actual workaday world, which has three dimensions. This was equally true of the senator in question. If the senator's ten million men sprang to arms at this moment, they would have at the outside some four hundred thousand modern rifles to which to spring. Perhaps six hundred thousand more could spring to squirrel pieces and fairly good shotguns. The remaining nine million men would have to "spring" to axes, scythes, hand-saws, gimlets, and similar arms. As for Mr. Bryan's million men who would at sunset respond under arms to a call made at sunrise, the suggestion is such a mere rhetorical flourish that it is not worthy even of humorous treatment; a high-school boy making such a statement in a theme would be marked zero by any competent master. But it is an exceedingly serious thing, it is not in the least a humorous thing, that the man making such a statement should be the chief adviser of the President in

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

international matters, and should hold the highest office in the President's gift.

Nor is Mr. Bryan in any way out of sympathy with President Wilson in this matter. The President, unlike Mr. Bryan, uses good English and does not say things that are on their face ridiculous. Unfortunately, his cleverness of style and his entire refusal to face facts apparently make him believe that he really has dismissed and done away with ugly realities whenever he has uttered some pretty phrase about them. This year we are in the presence of a crisis in the history of the world. In the terrible whirlwind of war all the great nations of the world, save the United States and Italy, are facing the supreme test of their history. All of the pleasant and alluring but futile theories of the pacifists, all the theories enunciated in the peace congresses of the past twenty years, have vanished at the first sound of the drumming guns. The work of all The Hague conventions, and all the arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, and peace treaties of the last twenty years has been swept before the gusts of war like withered leaves before a November storm. In this great crisis the stern and actual facts have shown that the fate of each nation depends not in the least upon any elevated international aspirations to which it has given expression in speech or treaty, but on practical preparation, on intensity of patriotism, on grim endurance, and on the possession of the fighting edge. Yet, in the face of all this, the President of the United States sends in a message dealing with national defense, which is filled with prettily phrased platitudes of the kind applauded at the less important type of peace congress, and with sentences cleverly turned to conceal from the average man the fact that the President has no real advice to

SUMMING UP

give, no real policy to propose. There is just one point as to which he does show real purpose for a tangible end. He dwells eagerly upon the hope that we may obtain "the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world" among the warring nations and adjures us not to jeopardize this chance (for the President to take part in the peace negotiations) by at this time making any preparations for self-defense. In effect, we are asked not to put our own shores in defensible condition lest the President may lose the chance to be at the head of the congress which may compose the differences of Europe. In effect, he asks us not to build up the navy, not to provide for an efficient citizen army, not to get ammunition for our guns and torpedoes for our torpedo-tubes, lest somehow or other this may make the President of the United States an unacceptable mediator between Germany and Great Britain! It is an honorable ambition for the President to desire to be of use in bringing about peace in Europe; but only on condition that the peace thus brought is the peace of righteousness, and only on condition that he does not sacrifice this country's vital interests for a clatter of that kind of hollow applause through which runs an undertone of sinister jeering. He must not sacrifice to this ambition the supreme interest of the American people. Nor must he believe that the possibility of his being umpire will have any serious effect on the terrible war game that is now being played; the outcome of the game will depend upon the prowess of the players. No gain will come to our nation, or to any other nation, if President Wilson permits himself to be deluded concerning the part the United States may take in the promotion of European peace.

Peace in Europe will be made by the warring nations.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

They and they alone will in fact determine the terms of settlement. The United States may be used as a convenient means of getting together; but that is all. If the nations of Europe desire peace and our assistance in securing it, it will be because they have fought as long as they will or can. It will not be because they regard us as having set a spiritual example to them by sitting idle, uttering cheap platitudes, and picking up their trade, while they have poured out their blood like water in support of the ideals in which, with all their hearts and souls, they believe. For us to assume superior virtue in the face of the war-worn nations of the Old World will not make us more acceptable as mediators among them. Such self-consciousness on our part will not impress the nations who have sacrificed and are sacrificing all that is dearest to them in the world, for the things that they believe to be the noblest in the world. The storm that is raging in Europe at this moment is terrible and evil; but it is also grand and noble. Untried men who live at ease will do well to remember that there is a certain sublimity even in Milton's defeated archangel, but none whatever in the spirits who kept neutral, who remained at peace, and dared side neither with hell nor with heaven. They will also do well to remember that when heroes have battled together, and have wrought good and evil, and when the time has come out of the contest to get all the good possible and to prevent as far as possible the evil from being made permanent, they will not be influenced much by the theory that soft and short-sighted outsiders have put themselves in better condition to stop war abroad by making themselves defenseless at home.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART . . . | 231 |
| II. WARLIKE POWER—THE PREREQUISITE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF SOCIAL VALUES . . . | 264 |
| III. WHERE THERE IS A SWORD FOR OFFENSE THERE MUST BE A SWORD FOR DEFENSE . . . | 277 |
| IV. AMERICA FIRST—A PHRASE OR A FACT? . . . | 303 |
| V. INTERNATIONAL DUTY AND HYPHENATED AMERI- CANISM . . . | 324 |
| VI. PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR | 344 |
| VII. UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND IS UNCLE SAM . . | 374 |
| VIII. THE SOUND OF LAUGHTER AND OF PLAYING CHIL- DREN HAS BEEN STILLED IN MEXICO . . . | 393 |
| IX. WHEN IS AN AMERICAN NOT AN AMERICAN? . . | 433 |
| X. MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS . . . | 440 |
| XI. THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES . . . | 445 |
| XII. AMERICANISM . . . | 452 |
| XIII. THE JAPANESE IN KOREA . . . | 473 |
| XIV. THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY . . . | 482 |
| XV. THE SOUL OF THE NATION . . . | 515 |
| XVI. CONCLUSION . . . | 528 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE . . . | 534 |

DEDICATION

THIS book is dedicated to the memory of

JULIA WARD HOWE

because in the vital matters fundamentally affecting the life of the Republic, she was as good a citizen of the Republic as Washington and Lincoln themselves.

She was in the highest sense a good wife and a good mother; and therefore she fulfilled the primary law of our being. She brought up with devoted care and wisdom her sons and her daughters. At the same time she fulfilled her full duty to the Commonwealth from the public standpoint.

She preached righteousness and she practised righteousness. She sought the peace that comes as the handmaiden of well-doing. She preached that stern and lofty courage of soul which shrinks neither from war nor from any other form of suffering and hardship and danger if it is only thereby that justice can be served. She embodied that trait more essential than any other in the make-up of the men and women of this Republic—the valor of righteousness.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS book is based primarily upon, and mainly consists of, matter contained in articles I have written in *The Metropolitan Magazine* during the past fourteen months. It contains also an article contributed to *The Wheeler Syndicate*, a paper submitted to the American Sociological Congress, and one or two speeches and public statements. In addition there is much new matter, including most of the first chapter. In part the old matter has been rearranged. For the most part, I have left it unchanged. In the few instances where what I spoke was in the nature of prophecy as to what might or would happen during the last year, the prophecy has been fulfilled, and I have changed the tense but not the purport of the statements. I have preferred to run the risk of occasional repetition rather than to attempt re-writing certain of the chapters, because whatever of value these chapters have had lay in the fact that in them I was applying eternal principles of right to concrete cases which were of vital importance at the moment, instead of merely treating these eternal principles as having their place forever in the realm of abstract thought and never to be reduced to action. I was speaking to and for the living present about the immediate needs of the present.

The principles set forth in this book are simply the principles of true Americanism within and without our own borders, the principles which, according to my abilities, I have preached and, according to my abilities, I have practised for the thirty-five years since, as a very young man, I first began to take an active interest in American history and in American political life.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SAGAMORE HILL, February 3, 1916.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

OVER two months have gone by since this book was published and during those two months affairs have moved rapidly, and at every point the march of events has shown the need of reducing to practice every principle herein laid down.

The monotonous succession of outrages upon our people by the Mexicans was broken by a spectacular raid of Villa into American territory, which resulted in the death of half a dozen American soldiers and an equal number of civilians. We accordingly asked Carranza to permit us to assist him in hunting down Villa, and Carranza grudgingly gave the permission. We failed to get Villa; we had to fight the Villistas and at one moment also the Carranzistas; we lost valuable lives, and at this time of writing the expedition is halted and it is announced at Washington that it is being considered whether or not it shall be withdrawn. We have not been able to scrape together the troops and equipment necessary to punish a single bandit. The professional pacifists and professional antipreparedness advocates are invited to consider these facts. We are told we have kept the peace in Mexico. As a matter of fact we have twice been at war in Mexico within the last two years. Our failure to prepare, our failure to take action of a proper sort on the Mexican border has not averted bloodshed; it has invited bloodshed. It has cost the loss of more lives than were lost in the Spanish War. Our Mexican failure is merely the natural fruit of the policies of pacificism and antipreparedness.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since the first edition of this book was published, President Wilson has notified Germany and has informed Congress that if Germany continues submarine warfare against merchant and passenger steamers as she has carried it on for the last year America will take action. Apparently the first step is to be the sundering of diplomatic relations. Such sunderance would, of course, mean nothing if the submarine war was continued. Merely to recall our ambassador if men, women, and children are being continually killed on the high seas and to take no further action would be about as effective as the conduct of a private individual who, when another man slapped his wife's face, retaliated by not bowing to the man. Therefore, either Germany will have to surrender on the point at issue, or this protest of ours will prove to have meant nothing, or else there must be a war. Fourteen months have elapsed since we sent our "strict accountability" note to Germany demanding that there be no submarine warfare that should endanger the lives of American citizens. She did not believe that we meant what we said and the warfare has gone on. If she now stops, it will be proof positive that she would have stopped at the very outset had we made it evident that we meant what we said. In such case the loss of thousands of lives of men, women, and children will be at our doors for having failed to make it evident that we meant what we said. If she does not stop, then we shall have to go to war or back down; and in that case it must be remembered that during these fourteen months—and during the preceding seven months—we have not prepared in naval, military, or industrial matters in the smallest degree. The peace-at-any-price men, the professional pacifists shrieked loudly that to prepare would be to invite war.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The Administration accepted their view and has not prepared. The result is that we are near to war. The blindest can now see that had we, in August, 1914, when the Great War began, ourselves begun actively to prepare, we would now be in a position such that every one knew our words would be made good by our deeds. In such case no nation would dream of interfering with us or of refusing our demands; and each of the warring nations would vie with the others to keep us out of the war. Immediate preparedness at the outset of the war would have meant that there would never have been the necessity for sending the "strict accountability" note. It would have meant that there never would have been the murder of the thousands of men, women, and children on the high seas. It would have meant that we would now be sure of peace for ourselves. It would have meant that we would now be ready to act the part of peacemaker for others.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SAGAMORE HILL, *April 24th*, 1916.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

*Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord ;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored ;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,
His truth is marching on.*

*I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps ;
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps ;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps,
His day is marching on.*

*I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel :
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal ;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with His heel,
Since God is marching on."*

*He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat ;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat ;
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him ! be jubilant, my feet,
Our God is marching on.*

*In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me ;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.*

Julia Ward Howe.

I

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

READERS of Borrow will recognize in the heading of this chapter, which I have also chosen for the title of the book, a phrase used by the heroine of Lavengro.

Fear God; and take your own part! Fear God, in the true sense of the word, means love God, respect God, honor God; and all of this can only be done by loving our neighbor, treating him justly and mercifully, and in all ways endeavoring to protect him from injustice and cruelty; thus obeying, as far as our human frailty will permit, the great and immutable law of righteousness.

We fear God when we do justice to and demand justice for the men within our own borders. We are false to the teachings of righteousness if we do not do such justice and demand such justice. We must do it to the weak, and we must do it to the strong. We do not fear God if we show mean envy and hatred of those who are better off than we are; and still less do we fear God if we show a base arrogance toward and selfish lack of consideration for those who are less well off. We must apply the same standard of conduct alike to man and to woman, to rich man and to poor man, to employer and employee. We must organize our social and industrial life so as to secure a reasonable equality of opportunity for all men to show the stuff that is in them, and a reasonable division among those engaged in industrial work of the reward for that industrial work, a division which shall take into account all the qualities that contribute to the necessary success. We must demand

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

honesty, justice, mercy, truthfulness, in our dealings with one another within our own borders. Outside of our own borders we must treat other nations as we would wish to be treated in return, judging each in any given crisis as we ourselves ought to be judged—that is, by our conduct in that crisis. If they do ill, we show that we fear God when we sternly bear testimony against them and oppose them in any way and to whatever extent the needs require. If they do well, we must not wrong them ourselves. Finally, if we are really devoted to a lofty ideal we must in so far as our strength permits aid them if they are wronged by others. When we sit idly by while Belgium is being overwhelmed, and rolling up our eyes prattle with unctuous self-righteousness about “the duty of neutrality,” we show that we do not really fear God; on the contrary, we show an odious fear of the devil, and a mean readiness to serve him.

But in addition to fearing God, it is necessary that we should be able and ready to take our own part. The man who cannot take his own part is a nuisance in the community, a source of weakness, an encouragement to wrong-doers, and an added burden to the men who wish to do what is right. If he cannot take his own part, then somebody else has to take it for him; and this means that his weakness and cowardice and inefficiency place an added burden on some other man and make that other man's strength by just so much of less avail to the community as a whole. No man can take the part of any one else unless he is able to take his own part. This is just as true of nations as of men. A nation that cannot take its own part is at times almost as fertile a source of mischief in the world at large as is a nation which does wrong to others, for its very exist-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

ence puts a premium on such wrong-doing. Therefore, a nation must fit itself to defend its honor and interest against outside aggression; and this necessarily means that in a free democracy every man fit for citizenship must be trained so that he can do his full duty to the nation in war no less than in peace.

Unless we are thoroughgoing Americans and unless our patriotism is part of the very fibre of our being, we can neither serve God nor take our own part. Whatever may be the case in an infinitely remote future, at present no people can render any service to humanity unless as a people they feel an intense sense of national cohesion and solidarity. The man who loves other nations as much as he does his own, stands on a par with the man who loves other women as much as he does his own wife. The United States can accomplish little for mankind, save in so far as within its borders it develops an intense spirit of Americanism. A flabby cosmopolitanism, especially if it expresses itself through a flabby pacifism, is not only silly, but degrading. It represents national emasculation. The professors of every form of hyphenated Americanism are as truly the foes of this country as if they dwelt outside its borders and made active war against it. This is not a figure of speech, or a hyperbolic statement. The leaders of the hyphenated-American movement in this country (who during the last eighteen months have been the professional German-Americans and Austro-Americans) are also leaders in the movement against preparedness. I have before me a little pamphlet, circulated by a "German-American" organization, consisting of articles written by a German-American for a paper which claims to be the leading German paper in Illinois. This pamphlet is a bitter attack upon the policy of preparedness for the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

United States, and a slanderous assault on those advocating this American policy. It is, therefore, an effort *in the interest of Germany* to turn the United States into a larger Belgium—an easy prey for Germany whenever Germany desires to seize it. These professional German-Americans and Pro-Germans are anti-American to the core. They play the part of traitors, pure and simple. Once it was true that this country could not endure half free and half slave. To-day it is true that it cannot endure half American and half foreign. The hyphen is incompatible with patriotism.

Patriotism should be an integral part of our every feeling at all times, for it is merely another name for those qualities of soul which make a man in peace or in war, by day or by night, think of his duty to his fellows, and of his duty to the nation through which their and his loftiest aspirations must find their fitting expression. After the *Lusitania* was sunk, Mr. Wilson stated in effect that such a time was not the right time to stir up patriotism. This statement is entirely incompatible with having a feeling of deep patriotism at any time. It might just as appropriately have been made by George Washington immediately after his defeat at the Brandywine, or by Abraham Lincoln immediately after the surrender of Fort Sumter; and if in either of these crises our leaders had acted on any such principle we would not now have any country at all. Patriotism is as much a duty in time of war as in time of peace, and it is most of all a duty in any and every great crisis. To commit folly or do evil, to act inconsiderately and hastily or wantonly and viciously, in the name of patriotism, represents not patriotism at all, but a use of the name to cloak an attack upon the thing. Such baseness or folly is wrong, at every time and on every occasion.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

But patriotism itself is not only in place on every occasion and at every time, but is peculiarly the feeling which should be stirred to its deepest depths at every serious crisis. The duty of a leader is to lead; and it is a dreadful thing that any man chosen to lead his fellow countrymen should himself show, not merely so profound a lack of patriotism, but such misunderstanding of patriotism, as to be willing to say in a great crisis what President Wilson thus said at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This statement, coupled with his statement made about the same time as to being "too proud to fight," furnishes the clew to the Administration's policy both before and since. This policy made our great democratic Commonwealth false to its duties and its ideals in a tremendous world crisis, at the very time when, if properly led, it could have rendered an inestimable service to all mankind, and could have placed itself on a higher pinnacle of worthy achievement than ever before.

Patriotism, so far from being incompatible with performance of duty to other nations, is an indispensable prerequisite to doing one's duty toward other nations. Fear God; and take your own part! If this nation had feared God it would have stood up for the Belgians and Armenians; if it had been able and willing to take its own part there would have been no murderous assault on the *Lusitania*, no outrages on our men and women in Mexico. True patriotism carries with it not hostility to other nations but a quickened sense of responsible good-will toward other nations, a good-will of acts and not merely of words. I stand for a nationalism of duty, to oneself and to others; and, therefore, for a nationalism which is a means to internationalism. World peace must rest on the willingness of nations with courage,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

cool foresight, and readiness for self-sacrifice to defend the fabric of international law. No nation can help in securing an organized, peaceful, and justice-doing world community until it is willing to run risks and make efforts in order to secure and maintain such a community.

The nation that in actual practice fears God is the nation which does not wrong its neighbors, which does so far as possible help its neighbors, and which never promises what it cannot or will not or ought not to perform. The professional pacifists in and out of office who at peace congresses pass silly resolutions which cannot be, and ought not to be, lived up to, and enter into silly treaties which ought not to be, and cannot be, kept, are not serving God, but Baal. They are not doing anything for anybody.* If in addition these people, when the concrete case arises, as in Belgium or Armenia, fear concretely to denounce and antagonize the wrong-doer, they become not merely passive, but active, agents of the devil. The professional pacifists who applauded universal arbitration treaties and disarmament proposals prior to the war, since the war have held meetings and parades in this country on behalf of peace, and

* See the excellent little book called "Is War Diminishing?" by Woods and Baltzly. The authors deal, as they necessarily must if truthful deal, with the mischievous activities of those professional pacifists among whom Mr. Andrew Carnegie has attained an unhappy prominence: activities which in this country for the last five years have worked nothing but evil, and very serious evil, to our nation and to humanity at large, and to all genuine movements for the promotion of the peace of righteousness. The writers instance Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler as presenting in typical manner the shams and perversions of fact upon which the professional pacifists rely for their propaganda, and remark that these pacifists, "who pride themselves on having the superior moral point of view, openly disregard the truth," and ask "these professors of ethics, law, and justice, these presidents of colleges, these moral educators, if morality is not necessarily bound up with truth." The pacifist movement in this country has not only been one of extreme folly and immorality, but has been bolstered by consistent and unwearied falsification of the facts, laudation of shallow and unprincipled demagogues, and condemnation of the upright public servants who fearlessly tell the truth.—T. R.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

have gone on silly missions to Europe on behalf of peace—and the peace they sought to impose on heroes who were battling against infamy was a peace conceived in the interest of the authors of the infamy. They did not dare to say that they stood only for a peace that should right the wrongs of Belgium. They did not dare to denounce the war of aggression by Germany against Belgium. Their souls were too small, their timidity too great. They were even afraid to applaud the war waged by Belgium in its own defense. These pacifists have served morality, have shown that they feared God, exactly as the Pharisees did, when they made broad their philacteries and uttered long prayers in public, but did not lift a finger to lighten the load of the oppressed. When Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan made this nation shirk its duty toward Belgium, they made us false to all our high ideals; for they acted and caused this government to act in that spirit of commercial opportunism which refuses to do duty to others unless there is in it pecuniary profit for oneself. This combination of mean timidity and mean commercial opportunism is peculiarly odious because those practising it have sought to hide it by profuse outbursts of wordy sentimentality and loud professions of attachment to impossible and undesirable ideals. One of the besetting sins of many of our public servants (and of not a few of our professional moralists, lay and clerical) is to cloak weakness or baseness of action behind insincere oratory on behalf of impractical ideals. The true servant of the people is the man who preaches realizable ideals; and who then practises what he has preached.

Moreover, even as regards the pacifists who genuinely desire that this nation should fear God, it is to be remembered that if the nation cannot take its own part,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the fact that it fears God will be of no practical consequence to any one. Nobody cares whether or not the feeling of the Chinese people is against international wrong-doing; for, as China is helplessly unable to take her own part, she is in practice even more helpless to take the part of any one else and to secure justice and mercy for any one else. The pacifists who are seeking to Chinify the United States are not only seeking to bring the United States to ruin, but are also seeking to render it absolutely impotent to help upright and well-behaved nations which are oppressed by the military power of unscrupulous neighbors of greater strength.

The professional pacifists, the leaders in the pacifist movement in the United States, do particular harm by giving well-meaning but uninformed people who do not think deeply what seems to them a convincing excuse for failure to show courage and resolution. Those who preach sloth and cowardice under the high-sounding name of "peace" give people a word with which to cloak, even to themselves, their failure to perform unpleasant duty. For a man to stand up for his own rights, or especially for the rights of somebody else, means that he must have virile qualities: courage, foresight, willingness to face risk and undergo effort. It is much easier to be timid and lazy. The average man does not like to face death and endure hardship and labor. He can be roused to do so if a leader of the right type, a Washington or Lincoln, appeals to the higher qualities, including the stern qualities, of his soul. But a leader, or at least a man who holds a leader's place, earns praise and profit unworthily if he uses his gift of words to lull well-meaning men to sleep, if he assures them that it is their duty to do the easy and selfish thing, and furnishes them high-sounding phrases with which

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

to cover ignoble failure to perform hard and disagreeable duties.

Peace is not the end. Righteousness is the end. When the Saviour saw the money-changers in the Temple he broke the peace by driving them out. At that moment peace could have been obtained readily enough by the simple process of keeping quiet in the presence of wrong. But instead of preserving peace at the expense of righteousness, the Saviour armed himself with a scourge of cords and drove the money-changers from the Temple. Righteousness is the end, and peace a means to the end, and sometimes it is not peace, but war which is the proper means to achieve the end. Righteousness should breed valor and strength. When it does breed them, it is triumphant; and when triumphant, it necessarily brings peace. But peace does not necessarily bring righteousness.

As for neutrality, it is well to remember that it is never moral, and may be a particularly mean and hideous form of immorality. It is in itself merely unmoral; that is, neither moral nor immoral; and at times it may be wise and expedient. But it is never anything of which to be proud; and it may be something of which to be heartily ashamed. It is a wicked thing to be neutral between right and wrong. Impartiality does not mean neutrality. Impartial justice consists not in being neutral between right and wrong, but in finding out the right and upholding it, wherever found, against the wrong. Moreover, submission to an initial wrong means that all protests against subsequent and lesser wrongs are hypocritical and ineffective. Had we protested, in such fashion that our protest was effective, against what was done in Belgium by Germany, and against the sinking of the *Lusitania* by Germany, we could have

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

(and in such case we ought to have) protested against all subsequent and minor infractions of international law and morals, including those which interfered with our commerce or with any other neutral rights. But failure to protest against the first and worst offenses of the strongest wrong-doer made it contemptible, and an act of bad faith, to protest against subsequent and smaller misdeeds; and failure to act (not merely speak or write notes) when our women and children were murdered made protests against interference with American business profits both offensive and ludicrous.

The pacifists have used all kinds of arguments in favor of peaceful submission to, or refusal to prepare against, international violence and wrong-doing, and among others the very ancient arguments based upon the supposed teaching of the New Testament against war. In the first place, as I have already pointed out, this argument is quite incompatible with accepting the lesson taught by the action of the Saviour in driving the money-changers from the Temple; not to mention, incidentally, that the duty of preparedness has rarely been put in stronger form than by St. Luke in the direction that "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one."

In the next place, the plea is merely an instance of the adroit casuistry that can twist isolated teachings of the Gospels in any required direction. As a matter of fact, the Gospels do not deal with war at all. During the period they covered there was no war in Judea, and no question arising from the need of going to war. The precepts and teachings upon which the pacifists rely apply not to war, but to questions arising from or concerning individual and mob violence and the exercise of the internal police power. In so far as sincere and log-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

ical pacifists are concerned, they recognize this fact. There are schools of pacifists who decline to profit by the exercise of the police power, who decline to protect not merely themselves, but those dearest to them, from any form of outrage and violence. The individuals of this type are at least logical in their horror even of just war. If a man deliberately takes the view that he will not resent having his wife's face slapped, that he will not by force endeavor to save his daughter from outrage, and that he disapproves of the policeman who interferes by force to save a child kidnapped by a black-hander, or a girl run off by a white-slaver, then he is logical in objecting to war. Of course, to my mind, he occupies an unspeakably base and loathsome position, and is not fit to cumber the world—in which, as a matter of fact, he exists at all only because he is protected by the maintenance by others of the very principle which he himself repudiates and declines to share.

Such a position I hold to be as profoundly immoral as it is profoundly unpatriotic. But, at least, the men holding it are trying logically to apply the principles which they profess to follow. Messrs. Bryan, Jordan, Ford, and the other professional pacifists, however, are either insincere in their denunciation of war, or else must announce that the same principle which makes them denounce a just war entered into for the sake of the welfare of the nation as a whole, also makes them denounce the man who, by force, endeavors to protect his daughter against infamy, or the woman who opposes her feeble strength to the brutality of the kidnapper of her child. Either these gentlemen, as regards their own families, approve of tame submission to kidnapping and white slavery, and disapprove of suppression of kidnapping and white slavery by the police, or else they are

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

either thoroughly unintelligent or else thoroughly dishonest in their denunciation of national preparedness and of readiness to enter into just war on behalf either of ourselves or of others.

Let us beware of confusing names with things. The fuglemen of President Wilson have kept praising him because, forsooth, he has "kept us out of war." Every now and then one of them reverses his praise, and says that in any event President Wilson could not have gone to war, because war can only be declared by Congress. But as a matter of fact, President Wilson has gone to war, both with Hayti and with Mexico.

This is a matter of deeds, not of words. When our armed forces attack the chief seaport city of a foreign country, as we did in the case both of Mexico and of Hayti, and take it by violence, after conflicts in which scores of our own men and either scores or hundreds of our opponents are killed and wounded, the act is one of war. It may be successful war like that which Mr. Wilson nerved himself to wage with tiny Hayti—for Mr. Wilson was not afraid of Hayti. It may be utterly ineffective war, as in the case of Mr. Wilson's little war with Mexico. But both were wars; and each was waged without any congressional action whatever. Mr. Wilson sent the fleet down to Vera Cruz, and took it in order to get a salute for the flag. The men wearing the United States uniform, who carried out his command, suffered a considerable loss of life and inflicted a greater loss of life. He then brought our forces away without achieving the object he had in view. His little war was an ignoble war, and he was beaten in it. But it was a war.

Some of his defenders now say that, although defeated in the avowed purpose of the war, he succeeded

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

as regards the unavowed purpose, which was to drive out Huerta in the interests of Villa. This is, of course, a confession that their statements on behalf of Mr. Wilson are untrue, that he has not kept the country at peace, but has put it into a war, not to serve any public purpose, but to gratify his personal feelings. It is, of course, a statement absolutely incompatible with Mr. Wilson's own claim that he did not intervene in Mexico. Therefore, these admirers of Mr. Wilson come to his defense by vociferating what he asserts to be contrary to the truth.

As a matter of fact, in this case they are correct. Mr. Wilson has more than once interfered—to use his own scholarly and elegant phraseology, “butted in”—by making war in Mexico. He never did it, however, to secure justice for Americans or other foreigners. He never did it to secure the triumph of justice and peace among the Mexicans themselves. He merely did it in the interest of some bandit chief, whom at the moment he liked, in order to harm some other bandit chief whom at the moment he disliked. Under such circumstances his methods of action, and his defense of his action, are worthy of a Byzantine logothete—but not of an American statesman who is true to the traditions of Washington and Lincoln, and an heir to the valor shown by the soldiers of Grant and of Lee.

Mr. Wilson has been President when the urgent need of the nation was for action. He has met the need purely by elocution. A friend, writing to me last Christmas eve, remarked that he had just found in “Cymbeline” “an anticipation of the gentleman in the White House”:

“Prithee have done,
And do not play in wench-like words with that
Which is so serious.”

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

Peace is not a question of names. It is a question of facts. If murders occur in a city, and if the police force is so incompetent that no record is made of them officially, that does not interfere with the fact that murders have been committed and that life is unsafe. In just the same way, if lives are taken by violence between nations, it is not of the slightest consequence whether those responsible for the government of the nation whose citizens have lost their lives do or do not assert that the nation is at peace. During the last three years we have been technically at peace. But during those three years more of our citizens have been killed by Mexicans, Germans, Austrians, and Haytians than were killed during the entire Spanish War. It is true that the American citizens killed during the past three years have been mostly non-combatants, including women and children, although many men wearing the national uniform have also been killed, some of them on American soil. But the fact that women and children are killed instead of full-grown men in uniform surely increases rather than diminishes the horror. We have had a great many more citizens killed during this time of alleged peace, and thanks to the activities of the emissaries of foreign governments with the torch and the bomb on our own soil, we have had much more American property destroyed, than was the case during the open war with Spain; and whereas, thanks to the abject quality of Mr. Wilson's tameness, no benefit whatever, to us or to mankind at large, has come from this loss of life and destruction of property during the last three years, the short war with Spain brought incalculable benefits to Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, not to speak of ourselves.

On February 12th it will be a year since the time

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

when we notified Germany that in case any of our citizens were killed, we would hold her to a strict accountability; and during these eleven months the passenger-ships sunk by German or Austrian submarines in defiance of our warning have included among others the *Falaba*, *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, *Hesperian*, *Ancona*, *Yasaka*, *Ville de la Ciotat*, and *Persia*. They were British, Italian, Japanese, and French. Many hundreds of Americans were among the passengers and a couple of hundred of these, including many women and children, were killed. The total deaths on these ships since March last amount to between two thousand and two thousand one hundred. The campaign against them has been a campaign of sheer murder, on a vaster scale than any indulged in by any of the old-time pirates of the Indian Ocean and the Spanish Main. Now, the total number of lives of non-combatants, including many hundreds of women and children, thus taken exceeds many times over the aggregate in all the sea-fights of the War of 1812, both on the American and on the British side. It is over double the number of lives lost by the British navy in Nelson's three great victories, the battle of Trafalgar, the battle of the Nile, and the battle of the Baltic, combined. It much exceeds the total number of lives lost in the Union navy—and indeed in the Union and Confederate navies combined—during the Civil War. That is, this nation has been "peaceful" during the past year, while peaceful ships on which its citizens were sailing lost a larger number of lives than we lost at sea in the entire War of 1812 and than we inflicted at sea in the War of 1812, a much greater loss than Farragut's fleet suffered in the aggregate in all its victories, a greater loss than Nelson's fleets suffered in his three great victories. If any individual finds satisfac-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

tion in saying that nevertheless this was "peace" and not "war," it is hardly worth while arguing with him; for he dwells in a land of sham and of make-believe. Of course, incidentally, we have earned contempt and derision by our conduct in connection with the hundreds of Americans thus killed in time of peace without action on our part. The United States senator or governor of a State, or other public representative, who takes the position that our citizens should not, in accordance with their lawful rights, travel on such ships, and that we need not take action about their deaths, occupies a position precisely and exactly as base and as cowardly (and I use those words with scientific precision) as if his wife's face were slapped on the public streets and the only action he took was to tell her to stay in the house.

Our course toward foreign nations has combined unworthy submission to wrongs against ourselves, with selfish refusal to keep our word and do right by others. Under the sixth article of the Constitution treaties are "the supreme law of the land." The Hague conventions were treaties of this kind. They included a guaranty from Germany that she would not violate the territory of neutral nations (including the territory of Belgium) and a guaranty by Belgium that if an attempt was made to violate her territory she would fight to prevent the violation. Germany broke her solemn promise to us, and offended against the Supreme law of our land. Belgium kept her solemn promise made by her to us, to Germany, to France, Russia, and England. We shirked our duty by failing to take any action, even by protest, against the wrong-doer and on behalf of the wronged, by permitting this violation of our law, of the law which we guaranteed, of "the su-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

preme law of the land," and by announcing through our President that we would be "neutral in thought as well as in deed" between the oppressor and the oppressed.

We have been equally signal in our remissness to prepare for our own defense. It is our highest duty thus to prepare, and in manful fashion to pay the cost of preparation. Seven years ago we were relatively to the rest of the world far better prepared than ever before in our history. Our navy was in combined size and efficiency the second in the world. The Philippines had been pacified, Mexico was orderly and peaceful, and The Hague conventions, if actively enforced and treated as binding by peaceful and law-abiding nations, would have regulated the conduct of war, circumscribed its limits, and minimized the chance of its occurrence. Under such conditions our Regular Army was of sufficient size (provided the work of improving its efficiency was steadily continued, as had been the case during the preceding seven years)—for the navy was our first and principal line of defense. Although as President I had called the attention of Congress and of the people to the Swiss system of universal service as a model for us as well as other democracies, there did not at that time seem any sufficient justification for military alarm. But what has happened during the last year and a half has forced all reasonably far-sighted men to understand that we are living in a new world. We have let our navy deteriorate to a degree both shameful and alarming. We have shown by our own conduct when The Hague conventions were violated that all such treaties are utterly worthless, as offering even the smallest safeguard against aggression. Above all, the immense efficiency, the utter ruthlessness, and the gigantic scale of the present military operations show that we need military

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

preparedness on a scale never hitherto even dreamed of by any American statesman.

Eighteen months have gone by since the Great War broke out. It needed no prescience, no remarkable statesmanship or gift of forecasting the future, to see that, when such mighty forces were unloosed and when it had been shown that all treaties and other methods hitherto relied upon for national protection and for mitigating the horrors and circumscribing the area of war were literally "scraps of paper," it had become a vital necessity that we should instantly and on a great and adequate scale prepare for our own defense. Our men, women, and children—not in isolated cases, but in scores and hundreds of cases—have been murdered by Germany and Mexico; and we have tamely submitted to wrongs from Germany and Mexico of a kind to which no nation can submit without impairing its own self-respect and incurring the contempt of the rest of mankind. Yet during these eighteen months not one thing has been done. The President in his message to Congress four months after the beginning of the war actually took ground against such preparedness. At this moment we are no stronger by one soldier or one sailor, by one cannon or by one ship, because of anything that has been done during these eighteen months in view of the frightful world calamity that has befallen. At last the popular feeling has grown to be such that the President has paid to it the tribute of advocating an inefficient and belated half-measure of preparedness. But even so, not one thing has yet been done. Everything is still in the future, and there is not the slightest sign that the urgency of the case has been recognized. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. Never in the country's history has there been a more stupendous

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

instance of folly than this crowning folly of waiting eighteen months after the elemental crash of nations took place before even making a start in an effort—and an utterly inefficient and insufficient effort—for some kind of preparation to ward off disaster in the future.

If President Wilson had shown the disinterested patriotism, courage, and foresight demanded by this stupendous crisis I would have supported him with hearty enthusiasm. But his action, or rather inaction, has been such that it has become a matter of high patriotic duty to oppose him. No man can support Mr. Wilson without being false to the ideals of national duty and international humanity. No one can support Mr. Wilson without opposing the larger Americanism, the true Americanism. No man can support Mr. Wilson and at the same time be really in favor of thoroughgoing preparedness against war. No man can support Mr. Wilson without at the same time supporting a policy of criminal inefficiency as regards the United States navy, of short-sighted inadequacy as regards the army, of abandonment of the duty owed by the United States to weak and well-behaved nations, and of failure to insist on our just rights when we are ourselves maltreated by powerful and unscrupulous nations.

It has been a matter of sincere regret to me to part company with so many German friends who believe that I have been unkind to Germany. It has also been a matter of sincere grief to me to find that my position has been misunderstood and misrepresented and resented by many upright fellow citizens to whom in the past I have been devoted, but who have let their loyalty to Germany, the land from which they themselves or their forefathers came, blind them to their loyalty to the United States and their duty to humanity at large.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

I wish explicitly and emphatically to state that I do not believe that this is the attitude of any but a minority of American citizens of German birth or descent. Among my stanchest friends are many men of German blood, who are American citizens and nothing else. As I have elsewhere said, I could name an entire administration from the President down through every member of the Cabinet, every man of whom would be of German blood, but an American and nothing else; an administration which I and all those like me could follow with absolute confidence in dealing with this or any similar crisis.

The German element has contributed much to our national life, and can yet do much more in music, in literature, in art, in sound constructive citizenship. In the greatest of our national crises, the Civil War, a larger percentage of our citizens of recent German origin, than of our citizens of old revolutionary stock, proved loyal to the great ideals of union and of liberty. I am myself partly of German blood. I believe that this country has more to learn from Germany than from any other nation—and this as regards fealty to non-utilitarian ideals, no less than as regards the essentials of social and industrial efficiency, of that species of socialized governmental action which is absolutely necessary for individual protection and general well-being under the conditions of modern industrialism. But in this country we must all stand together absolutely without regard to our several lines of descent, as Americans and nothing else; and, above all, we must do this as regards moral issues. The great issues with which we must now deal are moral even more than material; and on these issues every good American should be with us, without the slightest regard to the land from which his forefathers came.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

As regards the German-Americans who assail me in this contest because they are really mere transported Germans, hostile to this country and to human rights, I feel not sorrow, but stern disapproval. I am not interested in their attitude toward me; but I am greatly interested in their attitude toward this nation. I am standing for the larger Americanism, for true Americanism; and as regards my attitude in this matter, I do not ask as a favor, but challenge as a right, the support of all good American citizens, no matter where born, and no matter of what creed or national origin. I do not in the least desire any support for or approval of me personally; but I do most emphatically demand such support and approval for the doctrines of the larger Americanism which I advocate.

When some fourteen months ago I published under the title of "America and the World War" a little volume containing what I had publicly said and urged during the first months of the war, I took substantially the ground that I now take. But there is infinitely more reason for taking such ground now.

At that time Germany had sinned against civilization by her conduct toward Belgium and her method of carrying on the war, and I held it to be our duty in accordance with our solemn covenant to take whatever action was necessary in order to show that our nation stood for the right and against the wrong, even when the wrong was triumphant. But our duty is far stronger now. For many months Germany has waged war against us, the war being conducted by openly authorized agents of Germany on the high seas and within our land against our munition plants by men who have been shown to be the direct or indirect agents of Germany—and whom as matter of fact no human being in his senses

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

denies to be such. What I say of Germany applies in less degree to Austria, which has become the instrument of Germany's ambition and her agent in wrong-doing.*

I preach antipathy to no nation. I feel not merely respect but admiration for the German people. I regard their efficiency and their devoted patriotism and steady endurance as fraught with significant lessons to us. I believe that they have permitted themselves to be utterly misled, and have permitted their government to lead them in the present war into a course of conduct which, if persevered in, would make them the permanent enemy of all the free and liberty-loving nations of mankind and of civilization itself. But I believe that sooner or later they will recover their senses and make their government go right. I shall continue to cherish the friendliest feelings toward the Germans individually, and for Germany collectively as soon as Germany collectively comes to her senses. No nation is always right, and very few nations are always wrong. It is our duty

* In a recent excellent pamphlet Mr. Gustav Bissing, who, like myself, is an American of non-English blood (I believe mainly German blood), speaks of the activities of the hyphenated professional German-Americans and Austrian-Americans in part as follows: "Are we really a nation, a people, a fused product of the melting-pot, or are we, after all, a polyglot conglomerate of unfused nationalities? . . . What we need is a leader, one who walks ahead, some one with prescience, imagination, and courage. The chord which is to reverberate in American ears throughout the land must be struck by a master-musician not afraid of the foreign vote. 'Gott erhalte Franz der Kaiser' and 'Die Wacht am Rhein' are both inspiring national anthems. But just now I am longing for the simple strains of simon-pure 'Yankee Doodle.'" One of the best Americans I know—a man both of whose parents were born in Germany—writes me from South America as follows: "We of the U. S. are considered here a more or less spiritless, invertebrate sort of humanity, because of the insults we have accepted from Germany, and our inaction in Mexico. At the present time it is far safer and more pleasant for an American to remain home. No man's life is safe in the hands of a man like Wilson! If the people of the U. S. A. don't overwhelmingly drive the peace-at-any-price party out of office at the next election, they will lose practically all standing in foreign countries, and will have to face the discontent and humiliation of their own most high-minded citizens. We do not need more wealth in the U. S. A. to-day; our crying need is manhood! The American people must awake to a realization of duty and put a stop to the abuses which now threaten our honor and our national integrity."—T. R.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

to judge each nation by its conduct in the given crisis which must at the moment be faced. Since this country became a nation, there have been occasions when it has so acted as to deserve the condemnation of mankind—and as regards slavery its action was persevered in for many years. During the same period England, France, and Russia have each of them and all of them at one time or another so behaved as to merit from us condemnation and antagonism; and, at certain periods in our history, during the Napoleonic wars, for instance, and during our own Civil War, the attitude of the ruling classes in both France and England was unfriendly to our country. In 1898 Germany was hostile to us, and all the nations of Continental Europe followed suit, whereas England, and England alone, stood by us. In the Revolution France was our only real friend. During the time of the Civil War Russia was the only European nation which showed us any sympathy whatever.

When as a nation we displayed a purpose to champion international piracy in the interest of slavery we deserved to be condemned. But in the end we did well, and proved our worth by our endeavor, and when we championed orderly freedom in Cuba, the Philippines, and Panama, we deserved to be praised. In 1878 it was right to champion Russia and Bulgaria against Turkey and England. For exactly the same reasons we ought now to champion Russia and England and Serbia against Turkey and Bulgaria. A century ago the sympathies of humanity ought to have been with the Germany of Koerner and Andreas Hofer against Napoleonic France; and to-day they ought to be with the Belgian and French patriots against the Germany of the Hohenzollerns. To oppose England now because in 1776 we

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

fought England is as foolish and wicked as it would be now to oppose Germany because in that same Revolutionary War masses of German mercenaries fought against us. I have certainly never hesitated, and at this moment am not hesitating, to condemn my own country and my own countrymen when it and they are wrong. I would just as unhesitatingly condemn England, France, or Russia if any one of them should in the future behave as Germany is now behaving. I shall stand by Germany in the future on any occasion when its conduct permits me so to do. We must not be vindictive, or prone to remember injuries; we need forgiveness, and we must be ready to grant forgiveness. When an injury is past and is atoned for, it would be wicked to hold it in mind. We must do justice as the facts at the moment demand.

Abraham Lincoln, with his far-seeing vision and his shrewd, homely common sense, set forth the doctrine which is right both as regards individuals and as regards nations when he said: "Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong. To desert such ground because of any company is to be less than a man, less than an American." As things actually are at this moment, it is Germany which has offended against civilization and humanity—some of the offenses, of a very grave kind, being at our own expense. It is the Allies who are dedicated to the cause and are fighting for the principles set forth as fundamental in the speech of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg. It is they who have highly resolved that their dead shall not have died in vain, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the face of the earth. And we have stood aside and, as a nation, have not ventured

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

even to say one word, far less to take any action, for the right or against the wrong.

To those persons who fifty years ago cried for peace without regard to justice or righteousness, for the peace of cowardice, Abraham Lincoln answered in words that apply to-day. These words appropriately answer the sinister or silly creatures—including especially the silly or sinister Americans—who now likewise demand a peace acceptable only to the fool, the weakling, and the craven—a peace that would consecrate triumphant wrong and leave right bound and helpless. Said Lincoln: "The issue before us is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and settled by victory. The war will cease on the part of this government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it. . . . We accepted war rather than let the nation perish. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, and to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among all nations."

Surely, with the barest change of a few words, all that Lincoln said applies now to the war the Allies are waging on behalf of orderly liberty and self-government for the peoples of mankind. They have accepted war rather than let the free nations of Europe perish. They must strive on to finish the work they are in, and to achieve a just and lasting peace which shall redress wrong and secure the liberties of the nations which have been assailed.

We Americans must pay to the great truths set forth by Lincoln a loyalty of the heart and not of the lips only. In this crisis I hold that we have signally failed in our duty to Belgium and Armenia, and in our duty to our-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

selves. In this crisis I hold that the Allies are standing for the principles to which Abraham Lincoln said this country was dedicated; and the rulers of Germany have, in practical fashion, shown this to be the case by conducting a campaign against Americans on the ocean, which has resulted in the wholesale murder of American men, women, and children, and by conducting within our own borders a campaign of the bomb and the torch against American industries. They have carried on war against our people; for wholesale and repeated killing is war—even though the killing takes the shape of assassination of non-combatants, instead of battle against armed men.

It is a curious commentary on the folly of the professional pacifists among my fellow countrymen that they should applaud a "peace" to be obtained by conceding triumph to these wrong-doers. It is a no less curious commentary on the attitude of the rulers of Germany that at the moment when they are forcing the Belgian people to aid in the manufacture of materials of war to be used against their own countrymen, they are also protesting against the United States manufacturing such materials for the use of those who are seeking to free Belgium from the dreadful brutality of which it has been the victim.

It is always hard to make a democracy prepare in advance against dangers which only the far-sighted see to be imminent. Even in France there were well-meaning men, who but a few years ago did not realize the danger that hung over their land, and who then strove against adequate preparedness. In England, which was by no means in the same danger as France, there were far more of these men—just as there are far more of them in our own country than in England. Almost all these

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

men, both in France and in England, are now doing everything in their power to atone for the error they formerly committed, an error for which they and their fellow countrymen have paid a bitter price of blood and tears. In our land, however, the men of this stamp have not learned these lessons, and with evil folly are endeavoring to plunge the nation into an abyss of disaster by preventing it from so preparing as to remove the chance of disaster. France has learned her lesson in the hard school of invasion and necessity; England has been slower to learn, because the war was not in her home territory; and our own politicians, and to a lamentably large degree our own people, are fatuously unable to profit by what has happened, because they lack the power to visualize either the present woe of others or the future danger to themselves.

France has shown a heroism and a loftiness of soul worthy of Joan of Arc herself. She was better prepared than either of her allies, perhaps because the danger to her was more imminent and more terrible, and therefore more readily understood; and since the first month of the war she has done everything that it was in human power to do. The unity, the quiet resolution, the spirit of self-sacrifice among her people—soldiers and civilians, men and women—are of a noble type. The soul of France, at this moment, seems purified of all dross; it burns like the clear flame of fire on a sacred tripod. Frenchmen are not only a gallant but a generous race; and France realizes that England and Russia are now both bearing their share of the burden in the same spirit that France herself has shown.

Russia's sufferings have been sore, but it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power of endurance. Russia is mighty,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and her future looms so vast that it is hardly possible to overstate it. The Russian people feel this to be their war. Russia's part in the world is great, and will be greater; it is well that she should stand valiantly and stubbornly for her own rights; and as a firm and ardent friend of the Russian people may I add that Russia will stand for her rights all the more effectively when she also stands for the rights of Finn and Pole and Jew; when she learns the lesson that we Americans must also learn—to grant every man his full rights, and to exact from each man the full performance of his duty.

The English navy was mobilized with a rapidity and efficiency as great as that of the German army. It has driven every war-ship, except an occasional submarine, and every merchant ship of Germany off the seas, and has kept the ocean as a highway of life not only for England, but for France, and largely also for Russia. In all history there has been no such gigantic and successful naval feat accomplished as that which the seamen and shipwrights of England have to their credit during the last eighteen months. It was not originally expected that England would have to do much on the Continent; and although her wisest sons emphatically desired that she should be ready to do more, yet this desire represented only a recognition of the duty owed by England to herself. To her allies she has more than kept the promise she has made. She has given Russia the financial assistance that none but she could give; her money effort has been unparalleled in all previous history. Eighteen months ago no Frenchman would have expected that in the event of war England would do more than put a couple of hundred thousand men in France. She has already put in a million, and is training and arming more than double that number. Her

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

soldiers have done their duty fearlessly and well; they have won high honor on the fields of horror and glory; they have shown the same gallantry and stubborn valor that have been so evident in the armies of France and Russia. Her women are working with all the steadfast courage and self-sacrifice that the women of France have shown. Her men from every class have thronged into the army. Her fisherfolk, and her seafarers generally, have come forward in such numbers that her fleet is nearly double as strong as it was at the outset of the war. Her mines and war factories have steadily enlarged their output, and it is now enormous, although many of the factories had literally to build from the ground up, and the very plant itself had to be created. Coal, food, guns, munitions, are being supplied with sustained energy. From across the sea the free commonwealths of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and the Indian Empire, have responded with splendid loyalty, and have sent their sons from the ends of the earth to do battle for liberty and civilization. Of Canada I can speak from personal knowledge. Canada has faced the time that tries men's souls, and with gallant heroism she has risen level to the time's need. Mighty days have come to her, and she has been equal to the mighty days. Greatness comes only through labor and courage, through the iron willingness to face sorrow and death, the tears of women and the blood of men, if only thereby it is possible to serve a lofty ideal. Canada has won that honorable place among the nations of the past and the present which can only come to the people whose sons are willing and able to dare and do and die at need. The spirit shown by her sister commonwealths is the same. High of heart and undaunted of soul the men and women of the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

British Islands and of the whole British Empire now front the crisis that is upon them.

Having said all this, let me point out, purely for the instruction of our own people, that, excepting always as regards her navy, England has been much less effective than she should have been in the use of her strength during these first eighteen months of war. This is because she had not prepared in advance, because she had not accepted the advice of Lord Roberts. If all her sons had been trained under a system of universal service, and if it had been clearly understood that in war-time neither undue profit-making by capitalists nor striking by working men would be tolerated—for universal service means that each man is to serve the nation, and not himself, in whatever way is necessary—there would have been no invasion of Belgium, and no long-drawn and disastrous war. Nine-tenths of wisdom consists in being wise in time! Universal training in time of peace may avert war, and if war comes will certainly avert incalculable waste and extravagance and bloodshed and possible ultimate failure. Let us of the United States learn the lesson. Let us inaugurate a system of obligatory universal military training, and instil into our sons the spirit of intense and exclusive loyalty to the United States. Let ours be true Americanism, the greater Americanism, and let us tolerate no other. Let us prepare ourselves for justice and efficiency within our own border during peace, for justice in international relations, and for efficiency in war. Only thus shall we have the peace worth having.

Let this nation fear God and take its own part. Let it scorn to do wrong to great or small. Let it exercise patience and charity toward all other peoples, and yet

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

at whatever cost unflinchingly stand for the right when the right is menaced by the might which backs wrong. Let it furthermore remember that the only way in which successfully to oppose wrong which is backed by might is to put over against it right which is backed by might. Wanton or unjust war is an abhorrent evil. But there are even worse evils. Until, as a nation, we learn to put honor and duty above safety, and to encounter any hazard with stern joy rather than fail in our obligations to ourselves and others, it is mere folly to talk of entering into leagues for world peace or into any other movements of like character. The only kind of peace worth having is the peace of righteousness and justice; the only nation that can serve other nations is the strong and valiant nation; and the only great international policies worth considering are those whose upholders believe in them strongly enough to fight for them. The Monroe Doctrine is as strong as the United States navy, and no stronger. A nation is utterly contemptible if it will not fight in its own defense. A nation is not wholly admirable unless in time of stress it will go to war for a great ideal wholly unconnected with its immediate material interest.

Let us prepare not merely in military matters, but in our social and industrial life. There can be no sound relationship toward other nations unless there is also sound relationship among our own citizens within our own ranks. Let us insist on the thorough Americanization of the newcomers to our shores, and let us also insist on the thorough Americanization of ourselves. Let us encourage the fullest industrial activity, and give the amplest industrial reward to those whose activities are most important for securing industrial success, and at

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the same time let us see that justice is done and wisdom shown in securing the welfare of every man, woman, and child within our borders. Finally, let us remember that we can do nothing to help other peoples, and nothing permanently to secure material well-being and social justice within our own borders, unless we feel with all our hearts devotion to this country, unless we are Americans and nothing else, and unless in time of peace by universal military training, by insistence upon the obligations of every man and every woman to serve the Commonwealth both in peace and war, and, above all, by a high and fine preparedness of soul and spirit, we fit ourselves to hold our own against all possible aggression from without.

We are the citizens of a mighty Republic consecrated to the service of God above, through the service of man on this earth. We are the heirs of a great heritage bequeathed to us by statesmen who saw with the eyes of the seer and the prophet. We must not prove false to the memories of the nation's past. We must not prove false to the fathers from whose loins we sprang, and to their fathers, the stern men who dared greatly and risked all things that freedom should hold aloft an undimmed torch in this wide land. They held their worldly well-being as dust in the balance when weighed against their sense of high duty, their fealty to lofty ideals. Let us show ourselves worthy to be their sons. Let us care, as is right, for the things of the body; but let us show that we care even more for the things of the soul. Stout of heart, and pledged to the valor of righteousness, let us stand four-square to the winds of destiny, from whatever corner of the world they blow. Let us keep untarnished, unstained, the honor of the flag our fathers bore aloft in the teeth of the wildest storm,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the flag that shall float above the solid files of a united people, a people sworn to the great cause of liberty and of justice, for themselves, and for all the sons and daughters of men.

II

WARLIKE POWER—THE PREREQUISITE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF SOCIAL VALUES

IN December last I was asked to address the American Sociological Congress on "the effect of war and militarism on social values." In sending my answer I pointed out that infinitely the most important fact to remember in connection with the subject in question is that if an unscrupulous, warlike, and militaristic nation is not held in check by the warlike ability of a neighboring non-militaristic and well-behaved nation, then the latter will be spared the necessity of dealing with its own "moral and social values" because it won't be allowed to deal with anything. Until this fact is thoroughly recognized, and the duty of national preparedness by justice-loving nations explicitly acknowledged, there is very little use of solemnly debating such questions as the one which the sociological congress assigned me—which, in detail, was "How war and militarism affect such social values as the sense of the preciousness of human life; care for child welfare; the conservation of human resources; upper-class concern for the lot of the masses; interest in popular education; appreciation of truth-telling and truth-printing; respect for personality and regard for personal rights." It seems to me positively comic to fail to appreciate, with the example of Belgium before our eyes, that the real question which modern peace-loving nations have to face is not how the militaristic or warlike spirit within their own borders will affect these "values," but how failure on their part to be able to resist the militarism of an unscrupulous

WARLIKE POWER

neighbor will affect them. Belgium had a very keen sense of the "preciousness of human life" and of "the need for the care of child welfare and the conservation of human resources," and there was much "concern" by the Belgian "upper classes for the lot of the masses," great "interest in popular education and appreciation of truth-telling and truth-printing and a high respect for personality and regard for personal rights." But all these "social values" existed in Belgium only up to the end of July, 1914. Not a vestige of them remained in 1915. To discuss them as regards present-day Belgium is sheer prattle, simply because on August 4, 1914, Belgium had not prepared her military strength so that she could put on her frontiers at least half a million thoroughly armed and trained men of fighting spirit. In similar fashion the question of the internal reformation of China at this moment is wholly secondary to the question whether any China will remain to be reformed internally. A Chinese gentleman wrote me the other day that he had formerly been absorbed in plans for bringing China abreast of the modern movement, but that the events of the past year had shown him that what he really ought to be absorbed in was the question whether or not China would be able by military preparation to save itself from the fate of Korea. Korean "social values" now have to be studied exclusively through a Japanese medium. At this moment the Armenians, who for some centuries have sedulously avoided militarism and war, and have practically applied advanced pacifist principles, are suffering a fate, if possible, worse than that of the Belgians; and they are so suffering precisely and exactly because they have been pacifists, whereas their neighbors, the Turks, have not been pacifists but militarists. They haven't

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the vestige of a "social value" left, to be "affected" by militarism or by anything else.

In the thirteenth century Persia had become a highly civilized nation, with a cultivated class of literary men and philosophers, with universities, and with great mercantile interests. These literary men and merchants took toward the realities of war much the same attitude that is taken in our own country by gentlemen of the stamp of Messrs. David Starr Jordan and Henry Ford. Unfortunately for these predecessors of the modern pacifists, they were within striking distance of Genghis Khan and his Mongols; and, as of course invariably happens in such a case, when the onrush came, the pacifists' theories were worth just about what a tissue-paper barrier would amount to against a tidal wave. Russia at that time was slowly struggling upward toward civilization. She had become Christian. She was developing industry, and she was struggling toward individual freedom. In other words, she was in halting fashion developing the "social values" of which the foregoing extract speaks. But she had not developed military efficiency; she had not developed efficiency in war. The Mongols overwhelmed her as fire overwhelms stubble. For two centuries the Russians were trodden under foot by an alien dominion so ruthless, so brutal, that when they finally shook it off, all popular freedom had been lost and the soul of the nation seared by torment and degradation; and to this day the scars remain on the national life and character. The chief difficulties against which Russia has had to struggle in modern times are due ultimately to the one all-essential fact that in the early part of the thirteenth century she had not developed the warlike strength to enable her to hold her own against a militaristic neighbor. The Russian

WARLIKE POWER

Jew of to-day is oppressed by the Russian Christian because that Christian's ancestor in the thirteenth century had not learned efficiency in war.

There are well-meaning people, utterly incapable of learning any lesson taught by history, utterly incapable even of understanding aright what has gone on before their very eyes during the past year or two, who nevertheless wish to turn this country into an Occidental China—the kind of China which every intelligent Chinaman of the present day is seeking to abolish. There are plenty of politicians, by no means as well-meaning, who find it to their profit to pander to the desire common to most men to live softly and easily and avoid risk and effort. Timid and lazy men, men absorbed in money-getting, men absorbed in ease and luxury, and all soft and slothful people naturally hail with delight anybody who will give them high-sounding names behind which to cloak their unwillingness to run risks or to toil and endure. Emotional philanthropists to whom thinking is a distasteful form of mental exercise enthusiastically champion this attitude. The faults of all these men and women are of a highly non-militaristic and unwarlike type; and naturally they feel great satisfaction in condemning misdeeds which are incident to lives that they would themselves be wholly unable to lead without an amount of toil and effort that they are wholly unwilling to undergo. These men and women are delighted to pass resolutions in favor of anything with a lofty name, provided always that no demand is ever made upon them to pay with their bodies to even the smallest degree in order to give effect to these lofty sentiments. It is questionable whether in the long run they do not form a less desirable national type than is formed by the men who are guilty of the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

downright iniquities of life; for the latter at least have in them elements of strength which, if guided aright, could be used to good purpose.

Now, it is probably hopeless ever to convince the majority of these men except by actual disaster that the course they follow is not merely wicked, because of its subordination of duty to ease, but from their own standpoint utterly short-sighted—as the fate of the Armenians and the Chinese of the present day shows. But I believe that the bulk of our people are willing to follow duty, even though it be rather unpleasant and rather hard, if it can be made clearly evident to them; and, moreover, I believe that they are capable of looking ahead, and of considering the ultimate interest of themselves and their children, if only they can be waked up to vital national needs. The members of sociological societies and kindred organizations, and philanthropists, and clergymen, and educators, and all other leading men, should pride themselves on furnishing leadership in the right direction to these men and women who wish to do what is right.

The first thing to do is to make these citizens understand that war and militarism are terms whose values depend wholly upon the sense in which they are used. The second thing is to make them understand that there is a real analogy between the use of force in international and the use of force in intranational or civil matters; although of course this analogy must not be pushed too far.

In the first place, we are dealing with a matter of definition. A war can be defined as violence between nations, as the use of force between nations. It is analogous to violence between individuals within a nation—using violence in a large sense as equivalent to

WARLIKE POWER

the use of force. When this fact is clearly grasped, the average citizen will be spared the mental confusion he now suffers because he thinks of war as *in itself* wrong. War, like peace, is properly a means to an end—righteousness. Neither war nor peace is in itself righteous, and neither should be treated as of itself the end to be aimed at. Righteousness is the end. Righteousness when triumphant brings peace; but peace may not bring righteousness. Whether war is right or wrong depends purely upon the purpose for which, and the spirit in which, it is waged. Here the analogy with what takes place in civil life is perfect. The exertion of force or violence by which one man masters another may be illustrated by the case of a black-hander who kidnaps a child, knocking down the nurse or guardian; and it may also be illustrated by the case of the guardian who by violence withstands and thwarts the black-hander in his efforts to kidnap the child, or by the case of the policeman who by force arrests the black-hander or white-slaver or whoever it is and takes his victim away from him. There are, of course, persons who believe that all force is immoral, that it is always immoral to resist wrong-doing by force. I have never taken much interest in the individuals who profess this kind of twisted morality; and I do not know the extent to which they practically apply it. But if they are right in their theory, then it is wrong for a man to endeavor by force to save his wife or sister or daughter from rape or other abuse, or to save his children from abduction and torture. It is a waste of time to discuss with any man a position of such folly, wickedness, and poltroonery. But unless a man is willing to take this position, he cannot honestly condemn the use of force or violence in war—for the policeman who risks and perhaps loses

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

or takes life in dealing with an anarchist or white-slaver or black-hander or burglar or highwayman must be justified or condemned on precisely the same principles which require us to differentiate among wars and to condemn unstintedly certain nations in certain wars and equally without stint to praise other nations in certain other wars.

If the man who objects to war also objects to the use of force in civil life as above outlined, his position is logical, although both absurd and wicked. If the college presidents, politicians, automobile manufacturers, and the like, who during the past year or two have preached pacifism in its most ignoble and degrading form are willing to think out the subject and are both sincere and fairly intelligent, they must necessarily condemn a police force or a posse comitatus just as much as they condemn armies; and they must regard the activities of the sheriff and the constable as being essentially militaristic and therefore to be abolished.

There are small communities with which I am personally acquainted where the general progress has been such as really to permit of this abolition of the policeman. In these communities—and I have in mind specifically one in New England and one in the Province of Quebec—the constable and sheriff have no duties whatever to perform, so far as crimes or deeds of violence are concerned. The “social values” in these communities are not in any way affected by either the international militarism of the soldier or by the civil militarism of the policeman, and on the whole good results; although I regret to say that in each of the two communities I have in mind there have been some social developments that were not pleasant.

We ought all of us to endeavor to shape our action

WARLIKE POWER

with a view to extending so far as possible the area in which such conditions can be made to obtain. But at present the area cannot, as a matter of plain fact, be extended to most populous communities, or even to ordinary scantily peopled communities; and to make believe that it can be thus extended is a proof, not of goodness of heart, but of softness of head.

As a matter of practical common sense it is not worth while spending much time at this moment in discussing whether we ought to take steps to abolish the police force in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, or Montreal, because no police force is needed in a certain Vermont town or a certain Quebec village. Such a discussion would not help us in the least toward an appreciation and development of the "social values" of any one of the big cities in question.

Exactly the same principle, only a fortiori, applies as regards war. On the whole, there is a much greater equality of intellectual and moral status among the individuals in a great civilized community than there is between the various nations and peoples of the earth. The task of getting all the policemen, all the college professors, all the business men and mechanics, and also all the professional crooks, in New York to abandon the reign of force and to live together in harmony without any police force would be undoubtedly very much easier than to secure a similar working agreement among the various peoples of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. One of the commonest failings of mankind is to try to make amends for failure to perform the duty at hand by grandiloquent talk about something that is afar off. Most of our worthy pacifist friends adopt in this matter the attitude Mrs. Jellyby took toward foreign missions when compared with her own domestic

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and neighborhood duties. Instead of meeting together and passing resolutions to affect the whole world, let them deal with the much easier task of regulating their own localities. When we have discovered a method by which right living may be spread so universally in Chicago and New York that the two cities can with safety abolish their police forces, then, and not till then, it will be worth while to talk about "the abolition of war." Until that time the discussion will not possess even academic value.

The really essential things for men to remember, therefore, in connection with war are, first, that neither war nor peace is immoral in itself, and, secondly, that in order to preserve the "social values" which were enumerated in the quotation with which I began this chapter it is absolutely essential to prevent the dominance in our country of the one form of militarism which is surely and completely fatal—that is, the military dominion of an alien enemy.

It is utterly impossible to appreciate social values at all or to discriminate between what is socially good and socially bad unless we appreciate the utterly different social values of different wars. The Greeks who triumphed at Marathon and Salamis did a work without which the world would have been deprived of the social value of Plato and Aristotle, of Æschylus, Herodotus, and Thucydides. The civilization of Europe, America, and Australia exists to-day at all only because of the victories of civilized man over the enemies of civilization, because of victories stretching through the centuries from the days of Miltiades and Themistocles to those of Charles Martel in the eighth century and those of John Sobieski in the seventeenth century. During the thousand years that included the careers of the

WARLIKE POWER

Frankish soldier and the Polish king, the Christians of Asia and Africa proved unable to wage successful war with the Moslem conquerors; and in consequence Christianity practically vanished from the two continents; and to-day nobody can find in them any "social values" whatever, in the sense in which we use the words, so far as the sphere of Mohammedan influence and the decaying native Christian churches are concerned. There are such "social values" to-day in Europe, America, and Australia only because during those thousand years the Christians of Europe possessed the warlike power to do what the Christians of Asia and Africa had failed to do—that is, to beat back the Moslem invader. It is of course worth while for sociologists to discuss the effect of this European militarism on "social values," but only if they first clearly realize and formulate the fact that if the European militarism had not been able to defend itself against and to overcome the militarism of Asia and Africa, there would have been no "social values" of any kind in our world to-day, and no sociologists to discuss them.

The Sociological Society meets at Washington this year only because the man after whom the city was named was willing to go to war. If he and his associates had not gone to war, there would have been no possibility of discussing "social values" in the United States, for the excellent reason that there would have been no United States. If Lincoln had not been willing to go to war, to appeal to the sword, to introduce militarism on a tremendous scale throughout the United States, the sociologists who listened to this chapter, when it was read to them, if they existed at all, would not be considering the "social values" enumerated above, but the "social values" of slavery and of such

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

governmental and industrial problems as can now be studied in the Central American republics.

It is a curious fact that during the thirty years prior to the Civil War the men who in the Northern and especially the Northeastern States gradually grew to take most interest in the antislavery agitation were almost equally interested in antimilitaristic and peace movements. Even a casual glance at the poems of Longfellow and Whittier will show this. They were strong against slavery and they were strong against war. They did not take the trouble to think out the truth, which was that in actual fact slavery could be abolished only by war; and when the time came they had to choose between, on the one hand, the "social values" of freedom and of union and, on the other hand, the "social value" of peace, for peace proved incompatible with freedom and union. Being men fit to live in a free country, they of course chose freedom and union rather than peace. I say men; of course I mean women also. I am speaking of Julia Ward Howe and Harriet Beecher Stowe just exactly as I am speaking of Longfellow and Lowell and Whittier.

Now, during the thirty years preceding the Civil War these men and women often debated and occasionally in verse or prose wrote about the effect of war on what we now call "social values." I think that academically they were a unit in saying that this effect was bad; but when the real crisis came, when they were faced by the actual event, they realized that this academic discussion as to the effect of war on "social values" was of no consequence whatever. They did not want war. Nobody wants war who has any sense. But when they moved out of a world of dreams into a world of realities they realized that now, as always in the past has been

WARLIKE POWER

the case, and as undoubtedly will be the case for a long time in the future, war may be the only alternative to losing, not merely certain "social values," but the national life which means the sum of all "social values." They realized that as the world is now it is a wicked thing to use might against right, and an unspeakably silly, and therefore in the long run also a wicked thing, to chatter about right without preparing to put might back of right. They abhorred a wanton or an unjust war and condemned those responsible for it as they ought always to be condemned; and, on the other hand, they realized that righteous war for a lofty ideal may and often does offer the only path by which it is possible to move upward and onward. There are unquestionably real national dangers connected even with a successful war for righteousness; but equally without question there are real national dangers connected even with times of righteous peace. There are dangers attendant on every course, dangers to be fought against in every kind of life, whether of an individual or of a nation. But it is not merely danger, it is death, the death of the soul even more than the death of the body, which surely awaits the nation that does not both cultivate the lofty morality which will forbid it to do wrong to others, and at the same time spiritually, intellectually, and physically prepare itself, by the development of the stern and high qualities of the soul and the will no less than in things material, to defend by its own strength its own existence; and, as I at least hope some time will be the case, also to fit itself to defend other nations that are weak and wronged, when in helpless misery they are ground beneath the feet of the successful militarism which serves evil. At present, in this world, and for the immediate future, it is certain that

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the only way successfully to oppose the might which is the servant of wrong is by means of the might which is the servant of right.

Nothing is gained by debate on non-debatable subjects. No intelligent man desires war. But neither can any intelligent man who is willing to think fail to realize that we live in a great and free country only because our forefathers were willing to wage war rather than accept the peace that spells destruction. No nation can permanently retain any "social values" worth having unless it develops the warlike strength necessary for its own defense.

III

WHERE THERE IS A SWORD FOR OFFENSE THERE MUST BE A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

THE professional pacifists who have so actively worked for the dishonor of the American name and the detriment of the American nation (and who incidentally have shown themselves the basest allies and tools of triumphant wrong) would do well to bear in view the elementary fact that the only possible way by which to enable us to live at peace with other nations is to develop our strength in order that we may defend our own rights. Above all, let them realize that a democracy more than any other human government needs preparation in advance if peace is to be safeguarded against war. So far as self-defense is concerned, universal military training and, in the event of need, universal military service, represent the highest expression of the democratic ideal in government.

Jefferson had been an apostle of peace who had declared "that peace was his passion," and his refusal to lead the nation in preparedness bore bitter fruit in the War of 1812. But at least he learned aright the lesson that was taught. In 1813 he wrote to Monroe:

"We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe till this is done."

And in 1814 he went still further:

"I think the truth must now be obvious that we cannot be defended but by making every citizen a soldier,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and that in doing this all must be marshalled, classed by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class."

President Monroe in his message to Congress of December 3d, 1822, just ninety-three years ago, used expressions which without changing a word can be applied to the far more urgent needs of to-day. He said:

"The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct however correct in principle, can protect neutral powers from injury from any party; that a defenseless position and distinguished love of peace are the surest invitations to war, and that there is no way to avoid it other than by being always prepared and willing for just cause to meet it. If there be a people on earth whose more especial duty it is to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burthens, and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations, it is undoubtedly the people of these states."

The question of more real consequence to this nation than any other at this moment is the question of preparedness. The first step must be preparedness against war. Of course there can be no efficient military preparedness against war without preparedness for social and industrial efficiency in peace. Germany, which is the great model for all other nations in matters of efficiency, has shown this, and if this democracy is to endure, it must emulate German efficiency—adding thereto the spirit of democratic justice and of international fair play. Moreover, and finally, there can be no preparedness in things material, whether of peace or war, without also preparedness in things mental and spiritual. There must be preparedness of the soul and

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

the mind in order to make full preparedness of the body, although it is no less true that the mere fact of preparing the body also prepares the soul and the mind. There is the constant action and reaction of one kind of preparation upon another in nations as in individuals.

But there are certain elementary facts to be grasped by this people before we can have any policy at all. The first fact is a thorough understanding of that hoary falsehood which declares that it takes two to make a quarrel. It did not take two nations to make the quarrel that resulted in Germany trampling Belgium into the mire. It is no more true that it takes two to make a quarrel in international matters than it is to make the same assertion about a highwayman who holds up a passer-by or a black-hander who kidnaps a child. The people who do not make quarrels, who are not offensive, who give no cause for anger, are those who ordinarily furnish the victims of highwaymen, black-handers, and white-slavers. Criminals always attack the helpless if possible. In exactly similar fashion aggressive and militarist nations attack weak nations where it is possible. Weakness always invites attack. Preparedness usually, but not always, averts it.

The next fact to remember is that it is of no use talking about reform and social justice and equality of industrial opportunity inside of a nation, unless that nation can protect itself from outside attack. It is not worth while bothering about any social or industrial problem in the United States unless the United States is willing to train itself, to fit itself, so that it can be sure that its own people will have the say-so in the settlement of these problems, and not some nation of alien invaders and oppressors. Thanks to the weakness we have shown for five years, and to the fact that for a

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

year and a half we have shown the "neutrality" of the Levite who passed by on the other side when he saw on the ground the man who had been wounded by robbers near Jericho (and at the least the Levite did not boast of his "neutrality"), the United States has not a friend in the world.

Again, the United States should make up its mind just what its policy is to be. Foolish people say that the Monroe Doctrine is outworn, without taking the trouble to understand what the Monroe Doctrine is. As a matter of fact, to abandon the Monroe Doctrine would be to invite overwhelming disaster. In its essence the Monroe Doctrine amounts to saying that we shall not permit the American lands around us to be made footholds for foreign military powers who would in all probability create out of them points of armed aggression against us. We must therefore make up our mind that we will police and defend the Panama Canal and its approaches, preserve order and safeguard civilization in the territories adjacent to the Caribbean Sea, and see that none of these territories, great or small, are seized by any military empire of the Old World which can use them to our disadvantage. A prime duty, of course, is to secure livable conditions in Mexico. To permit such conditions as have obtained in Mexico for the past five years is to put a premium upon European interference; for where we shirk our duty to ourselves, to honest and law-abiding Mexicans, and to all European foreigners within Mexico, we cannot expect permanently to escape the consequences.

The events of the past year have shown that all talk of preventing aggression from unscrupulous militaristic nations by arbitration treaties, Hague conventions, peace agreements, and the like at present represents

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

nothing but empty declamation. No person outside of an imbecile asylum should be expected to take such talk seriously at the present time. Leagues to Enforce Peace and the like may come in the future; I hope they ultimately will; but not until nations like our own are *not* too proud to fight, and *are* too proud not to live up to their agreements. It is at best an evidence of silliness and at worst an evidence of the meanest insincerity to treat the formation of such leagues as possible until as a nation we do two things.

In the first place, we must make ready our own strength. In the next place, by our action in actually living up to the obligations we assumed in connection with The Hague conventions, we must make it evident that there would be some reasonable hope of our living up to the onerous obligations that would have to be undertaken by any nation entering into a League to Enforce Peace. The Hague conventions were treaties entered into by us with, among other nations, Belgium and Germany. Under our Constitution such a treaty becomes part of "the supreme law of the land," binding upon ourselves and upon the other nations that make it. For this reason we should never lightly enter into a treaty, and should both observe it, and demand its observance by others when made. The Hague conventions were part of the Supreme Law of our Land, under the Constitution. Therefore Germany violated the *supreme law of our land* when she brutally wronged Belgium; and we permitted it without a word of protest.

Nearly eighteen months have gone by since with the outbreak of this war it became evident to every man willing to face the facts, that military and naval problems and international problems of every kind were infinitely more serious than we had had reason to believe,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

that treaties were absolutely worthless to protect any nation unless backed by armed force, and that the need of preparedness was infinitely more urgent than any man in this country had up to that time believed. The belief that public opinion or international public opinion, unbacked by force, had the slightest effect in restraining a powerful military nation in any course of action it chose to undertake was shown to be a pathetic fallacy. But any man who still publicly adheres to and defends that opinion at the present time is engaged in propagating not a pathetic, but an absolutely mischievous and unpatriotic fallacy. It is the simple and literal truth that public opinion during the last eighteen months has not had the very smallest effect in mitigating any atrocities or preventing any wrong-doing by aggressive military powers, save to the exact degree that there was behind the public opinion actual strength which would be used if the provocation was sufficiently great. Public opinion has been absolutely useless as regards Belgium, as regards Armenia, as regards Poland. No man can assert the contrary with sincerity if he takes the trouble to examine the facts.

For eighteen months, with this world-cyclone before our eyes, we as a nation have sat supine without preparing in any shape or way. It is an actual fact that there has not been one soldier, one rifle, one gun, one boat, added to the American army or navy so far, because of anything that has occurred in this war, and not the slightest step has yet been taken looking toward the necessary preparedness. Such national short-sightedness, such national folly, is almost inconceivable. We have had ample warning to organize a scheme of defense. We have absolutely disregarded the warning, and the measures so far officially advocated are at best measures

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

of half-preparedness, and as regards the large aspect of the question, are not even that.

We should consider our national military policy as a whole. We must prepare a well-thought-out strategic scheme, planned from the standpoint of our lasting national interests, and steadily pursued by preparation and the study of experts, through a course of years. The navy is our first line of defense, but it must be remembered that it can be used wisely for defense only as an offensive arm. Parrying is never successful from the standpoint of defense. The attack is the proper method of efficient defense. For some years we have been using the navy internationally as a bluff defensive force, or rather asserting that it would be so used and could be so used. Its real value is as an offensive force in the interest of any war undertaken for our own defense. Freedom of action by the fleet is the secret of real naval power. This cannot be attained until we have at our disposal an effective military establishment which would enable us when threatened to repel any force disembarking on our coast. This is fundamental. It is only by creating a sufficient army that we can employ our fleet on its legitimate functions. The schemes of the navy must always be correlated with the plans of the army, and both of them with the plans of the State Department, which should never under any circumstances undertake any scheme of foreign policy without considering what our military situation is and may be made. For reasons I give elsewhere I believe that we should base our military and naval programme upon the retention and defense of Alaska, Hawaii, the Panama Canal and all its approaches, including all the points of South American soil north of the Equator, and of course, including the defense of our own coasts and

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the islands of the West Indies. To free the navy we need ample coast defenses manned by a hundred thousand men, and a mobile Regular Army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The proposed administration programme is a make-believe programme. It is entirely inadequate to our needs. It is a proposal not to do something effective immediately, but to do something entirely ineffective immediately, and to trust that the lack will be made good in succeeding years. Congress has never been willing to carry out the plans advocated by the general board. Until 1911, however, the differences between what was needed and what was actually appropriated for, although real, was not appallingly great. At the very time, however, when the extraordinary development of navies abroad rendered it imperative that we should enlarge our own programme and treat it far more seriously than ever before, Congress stopped entirely the proper upbuilding of the navy. At present what is needed is immediately to strain every nerve of the government so that this year we will begin work on half-a-dozen formidable fighting battleships and formidable speedy armed cruisers. Whether we begin them in public or private yards is of no earthly consequence compared with the vital importance of beginning on these ships somewhere at once—not next summer, but within thirty or sixty days. Frederick Palmer has recently shown that in the three squadron actions of this war the beaten side has behaved with the same skill and prowess shown by the victors but has been beaten purely because of the superiority of its opponent in the speed of the ships and in the range and power of the guns. He has furthermore shown that in these three squadron actions the defeated ships were in each case superior to any of our

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

cruisers in speed and range and power of guns. In other words, our cruisers would be helpless against those of a first-rate power at the present time.

Our people need to remember that half-preparation is no preparation at all. A great many well-meaning people are of the same mind as a philanthropist who wrote me the other day to the effect that he believed in some preparedness, but not much. This is like building a bridge half-way across a stream, but not all the way. I regret to state that this seems to be the attitude which our government now takes as a substitute for its attitude of a year ago, when its view was that preparedness was "hysterical," immoral and unnecessary. The only proper attitude is that there shall be no preparedness at all that is not necessary, but that in so far as there is need for preparedness the need shall be fully met. Years ago I served as a deputy sheriff in the cattle country. Of course I prepared in advance for my job. I carried what was then the best type of revolver, a .45 self-cocker. I was instructed never to use it unless it was absolutely necessary to do so, and I obeyed the instructions. But if in the interest of "peace" it had been proposed to arm me only with a .22 revolver, I would promptly have resigned my job.

There are two immediately vital needs to be met:

1. That our navy shall at the earliest possible moment be made the second in the world in point of size and efficiency. We do not need to make it the first, because Great Britain is not a military power, and our relations with Canada are on a basis of such permanent friendliness that hostile relations need not be considered. But the British Empire would, quite properly, be "neutral" if we were engaged in war with some great European or Asiatic power.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

2. That our Regular Army shall be increased to at least a quarter of a million men, with an ample reserve of men who could be at once put in the ranks in the event of a sudden attack upon us; and provision made for many times the present number of officers; and in administration, provision made for a combination of entire efficiency with rigid economy that will begin with the abandonment of the many useless army posts and navy-yards.

Neither of these needs is in any way met by the Administration's proposals. I am sincerely glad that the Administration has now reversed the attitude taken in the President's message to Congress of December, 1914, in which he advocated keeping this nation unprepared and helpless to defend its honor and vital interest against foreign foes. But I no less sincerely regret that the Administration has not thought out the situation and is not prepared to present a real and substantial plan for defense instead of a shadow programme. During the last three years our navy has fallen off appallingly in relative position among the nations. The Administration now proposes a plan, to be followed mainly by the next administration, which, if hereafter lived up to, would nominally replace the navy where it formerly was in ten years' time and really not until twenty years have passed—a plan which in reality, therefore, is merely an adroit method of avoiding substantial action in the present. This will not do. There should be no policy of adroit delay and make-believe action. Our government should make provision this year which will insure the regaining of our naval place at the earliest possible moment. The work should begin on a large scale at once. This is of the first importance.

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

But it is also vital to bring the army abreast of national needs. The proposed plan to create a rival national guard of half-trained or quarter-trained volunteers—for that is what the absurdly named “continental army” would amount to—if tried will prove very expensive, very detrimental to the existing national guard, and entirely useless from the standpoint of meeting the real needs of the country. It is thoroughly undemocratic, for it appeals to the “patriotism” of the employer to let his employees be trained to do his fighting! It would put a business premium on the unpatriotic employer who would not permit his men to take part in it. It would be much wiser to spend the money in increasing the size and efficiency of the National Guard, and establishing national control over it—although this also would be a mere half-measure, in no way going to the root of things. The Administration has declined to ask for the adoption of any of the military systems which have been so strikingly successful in Switzerland, Australia, Argentina, not to speak of Germany. Instead they, congenially, ask for the system which England fatuously tried, and which in the crisis proved worthless. Their proposed “continental army” has nothing in common with Washington’s Continental army, which was an army of Regulars, whose efficiency was conditioned by service year in and year out in winter and summer. It is nothing but the English “territorial” army, reliance upon which by England was one of the main factors in securing that unpreparedness for war for which England is now paying so heavy a penalty—for the splendid courage and self-sacrifice of the English who are now fighting so gallantly cannot wholly undo the effects of the failure adequately to prepare in advance. The best men among the Territorials

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

keenly realized the truth of the position taken by that high-minded old hero, Lord Roberts, and in 1913 memorialized the English Government in favor of a system of universal military service as the only adequate method to secure effective home defense. But the political leaders of England insisted upon blindly following the easy path to disaster, the path down which, in imitation of these blind leaders, our own American politicians now contentedly amble.

The proposed increase in the size of the Regular Army as outlined by the Administration is utterly inadequate to serve any real purpose. It is one of those half-measures which are of service, if at all, only from the political standpoint. Either we need to prepare or we do not. If we do, then we should prepare adequately. I should not regard as wise a proposal for doing away with the New York Fire Department—the wisdom of such a proposal being about on a par with the wisdom of the attitude of Messrs. Bryan, Ford, Jordan, and the rest of the professional pacifists, as regards what they are pleased to call “militarism.” Yet it would not be materially less wise than a proposal to compromise, by, on the one hand, having fire-engines, but, on the other hand, not fitting them to throw a stream of water higher than the second story. The military plans of the Administration are on a level with plans for the New York Fire Department which should provide only for second-story hose; they go on the theory that it is desirable to try to put out a fire a little, but not too much. Now, it is always wise either to let a fire alone or to deal with it thoroughly.

The unwisdom of being content with a sham in this case is shown by the opposition of the professional pacifists and peace-at-any-price leaders even to the shadow-

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

plan of the Administration. They have been busily engaged in opposing it on the ground that it is "rushing into militarism," and that a standing army is an "instrument for aggression." Of course in reality the trouble with the Administration's plan is that the standing army it would provide would not even be an instrument for defense. As for "rushing into militarism," we are not even trickling in that direction. The proposal advocated by the real believers in national defense (as distinguished from those who support the Administration's plan) is to make the Regular Army, relatively to the United States, as large as the New York police force is relatively to the city of New York; for a quarter of a million men bears to the nation just about the proportion that the present police force does to New York City. Surely even hysteria cannot see "militarism" and "aggression" in such a proposal.

A few of the professional pacifists now support the government's plan for a half-preparation, for pretending to meet needs without meeting them. But the extreme pacifists can always be trusted to insist on the nadir of folly. They do not wish to see this nation even pretend to act with self-respect. It is natural that they should wage a sham battle with a sham, for all their utterances are those of men who dwell in a world of windy make-believe. Their argument is that we should have no preparedness whatever, that we should not prepare for defense, nor bear arms, nor be able to use force, and that this nation must "influence others by example rather than by exciting fear," and must secure its safety "not by carrying arms, but by an upright, honorable course." Of course such a position can be honestly held by a man of intelligence only if he also demands the abolition of the police force throughout the United

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

States and announces that he will not resent the action of an offender who slaps the face of his wife or outrages his daughter. However, to argue with these gentlemen is to waste time, for there can be no greater waste of time than to debate about non-debatable things.

It seems literally incredible that any human being can take the position now taken by the professional pacifists, with the fates of Belgium and China before their eyes at this very moment. China has sought to influence others "by example" instead of by "exciting fear," and half her territory is in the possession of aliens. Belgium thought to secure her safety "by an upright honorable course" instead of by "carrying arms," and in consequence she has been trampled into dust. Probably there is not in all Belgium a man, a woman, or a child over six years old, who would consider the arguments of these pacifists against preparedness as other than peculiarly heartless jests. In China, however, among elderly mandarins of unusually conservative type, it is possible that they would be taken seriously.

I very earnestly hope that the ordinary citizens of this country, since their official leaders refuse to lead them, will themselves wake to their own needs and lead the should-be leaders. Let us at once take action to make us the second naval power in the world. Let us take the action this year, not the year after next. Do it now. The navy is our first line of defense. It is from the national standpoint literally criminal to neglect it.

As regards the army, first and foremost let us know the advice of the experts. Then provide a Regular Army of a quarter of a million men. Relatively to the nation this army would be no larger than the New York police force is relatively to the city of New York. On

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

paper our present strength is one hundred thousand, and we have in the United States a mobile army of only thirty thousand men. We need ten thousand more men adequately to man our coast defenses at home, and five thousand additional adequately to man those abroad. We need twenty thousand additional men to provide an adequate mobile army for meeting a raid on our overseas possessions. At home we should have a mobile army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, in order to guarantee us against having New York or San Francisco at once seized by any big military nation which went to war with us. A quarter of a million in the Regular Army is the minimum that will insure the nation's safety from sudden attack.

In addition we must provide backing for this Regular Army. Provide a real reserve of enlisted men. Provide as many officers, active and reserve taken together, as will enable us to officer a million and a half of men in the event of war. Meanwhile do everything possible for the National Guard, providing the necessary Federal control to make it really efficient; and provide for many training-camps like that at Plattsburg. Drop the undemocratic continental volunteer army which discriminates between employer and employed, which would help the unpatriotic employer who refused to do as his patriotic rival was glad to do, and which would result merely in the establishment of an inefficient rival to the National Guard. Provide an adequate reserve of war material—this is of prime importance.

We should at once begin governmental encouragement and control of our munition plants. To make war on them is to make war on the United States; and those doing so should be treated accordingly and all who encourage them should be treated accordingly. The ex-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

isting plants should be encouraged in every legitimate way, and provision made to encourage their continuance after the war. But it is most unfortunate that they are situated so near the seacoast. The establishment of munition plants farther inland should be provided for, without delay. Pittsburgh is as far east as any plant should by rights be placed. This whole matter of providing and regulating the output of munitions is one in which Germany should especially stand as our model. Let us study carefully what she has done, and then develop and adapt to our own needs the schemes which she has found successful, supplementing them with whatever additional measures our own experience may indicate as advisable. There should be a great plant in the Southern iron-fields—the iron-fields whose development was rendered possible by the wise action of the United States Government in permitting the United States Steel Corporation to secure the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, action which has since been passed on and approved by the Federal courts.

Steadily remember that ample material is useless unless we prepare in advance the highly trained personnel to handle it. This applies all the way through from battle-cruisers and submarines to coast guns and field-artillery and aeroplanes. We need the best types of sea-going submarines. We need an immense development of the aviation corps. I wonder how many of our people understand that at this time the total strength of the officers and men in the French aviation corps surpasses in number the total strength of the officers and enlisted men in the United States army? As regards the army—strict economy should at once be introduced, and, as a preliminary, all useless army posts should be abandoned—just as economy in the navy

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

should imply the abandonment of useless navy-yards. A board of first-class army officers, and another of first-class navy officers, should be chosen and required to report, on purely military grounds, which posts should be kept and which abandoned; and their reports should be followed implicitly. However, we ought to have training-posts for a mass of officers ready to lead our citizen armies in time of need; and these army posts and navy-yards could be very advantageously used for this purpose.

These are the needs that can be and ought to be immediately met. But I believe with all my heart that we must adopt a system of universal service on the Swiss or Australian models, adapted of course to our own needs. This is the method of true democracy. In a free republic rights should only be allowed as corollaries to duties. No man has a right to vote who shirks his obligations to the State whether in peace or war. The full citizen must do a citizen's full duty; and he can only do his full duty if he fits himself to fight for the common good of all citizens in the hour of deadly peril of the nation's life. Manhood suffrage should mean manhood service in war just as much as in peace. People speak in praise of volunteers. I also praise the volunteer who volunteers to fight. But I do not praise the volunteer who volunteers to have somebody else fight in his place. Universal service is the only way by which we can secure real democracy, real fairness and justice. Every able-bodied youth in the land should be proud to, and should be required to, prepare himself thoroughly to protect the nation from armed aggression.

The question of expense is of wholly secondary importance in a matter which may well be of life or death

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

significance to the nation. Five years hence it may be altogether too late to spend any money! We will do well at this time to adopt, with a slight modification, the motto popular among our forefathers a century ago: Millions for defense but not a cent for either tribute or aggression.

Fortunately we can, if we have sufficient good sense and foresight, not only successfully safeguard ourselves against attack from without, but can, and ought to, do it in such a manner as immeasurably to increase our moral and material efficiency in our every-day lives. Proper preparation for self-defense will be of immense incidental help in solving our spiritual and industrial problems.

In a country like ours a professional army will always be costly, for as regards such an army the government has to go into the labor market for its soldiers, and compete against industrialism. Universal service, as an obligation on every citizen, is the only way by which to secure an economical and inexpensive army.

A democracy fit to be called such must do its own fighting, and therefore must make ready in advance. The poltroon and the professional pacifist are out of place in a democracy. The man fit for self-government must be fit to fight for self-government. Universal service means preparedness not for war but primarily against war. Such essentially democratic preparedness would render it less likely that war will come and certain that if it does come we shall avoid disgrace and disaster. Such preparedness would mean much for the soul of this nation. The efficiency of the average man in civil life would be thereby greatly increased. He would be trained to realize that he is a partner in this giant democracy, and has duties to the other partners.

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

He would first learn how to obey and then how to command. He would acquire habits of order, of cleanliness, of self-control, of self-restraint, of respect for himself and for others. The whole system would be planned with especial regard to the conditions and needs of the farmer and the working man. The average citizen would become more efficient in his work and a better man in his relations to his neighbors. We would secure far greater social solidarity and mutual understanding and genuine efficiency among our citizens in time of peace. In time of war we would put back of the navy and of the Regular Army the weight of the whole nation. With the navy and the very small Regular Army asked for, only a quarter of a million men, we would be able to meet sudden emergencies; and behind the army and navy would stand a people so trained and so fitted that if the demand was not merely to meet a sudden emergency but a great and long-continued strain, our citizens would be able to furnish within a reasonably short time the number of men necessary to meet this strain.

Universal military service as here indicated would be the best preliminary for fitting this nation for the kind of efficient industrialism, and efficiency of spiritual and moral patriotism from the standpoint of the commonwealth as a whole, which would make us able to parallel the extraordinary German achievements without loss of our own democratic spirit. It is our great duty to combine preparedness for peace, efficiency in securing both industrial success and industrial justice, with preparedness against war. We need not in servile fashion follow exactly the example set abroad, but if we are wise we will profit by what has been achieved, notably among great industrial nations like Germany, in these matters.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

Switzerland has shown that the most absolute democracy, without one touch of militarism, can develop high industrial efficiency in time of peace and can adequately prepare against war while at the same time securing a marked advance among the citizens in their relations with one another, as regards the qualities of mutual respect, of order, of regard for the law and for the rights of the weak. We are the largest Republic of the world. Let us be ashamed to fall behind France, a great republic, and Switzerland, a small but gallant republic, and Australia, the great democracy of the South Seas, and Argentina and Chile in our own hemisphere, in such matters as patriotism, as national efficiency, as the subordination of the individual to the socialized welfare of the people as a whole.

The Administration, at this most critical period of our history, when our people so need the light, has refused to let them have the light, by forbidding the professional officers to discuss the problems which they are especially fitted to discuss. It is treachery to the Republic for statesmen—and for professional officers—to propose and to acquiesce in unsound half-measures which necessitate large continuing expenditures, but which do not provide for adequate national defense.

I am told that "women oppose war," and therefore that, with illogical folly, they oppose preparedness against war. I appeal, as a lover of peace, in the name of my wife and myself—the father and mother of sons who would have to go to war, and of daughters who in war would work and suffer as much as the sons—to every good man and good woman in this country. We dread war; but we follow Washington and Lincoln in dreading some things worse than war. Therefore we desire to prepare against war. I wish every man and

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

woman in the land would read a piece in the November *Woman's Home Companion* which my wife recently showed me. The writer does not give her name. She says she is "a plain old woman of seventy-three" who lives "in a little country town in Kansas." She tells of her husband, John, a skilled mechanic, who went to war in '61, who later grew blind from injuries received in the war, and whose life was a hard, hard struggle. She says that she would like to see everything done to keep war away from us; that therefore she would like to see "forts, submarines, a fine strong fleet, and then every boy raised to be a soldier," to see "every man in some farm, or factory, or business in peace times," but trained so as to be always ready to defend the nation if the call comes; and she "would include the girls, too"—which is quite right, for universal service does not mean that every man must fight, but that every man or woman must serve the country in the position in which he or she can render best service. She ends by saying: "I did raise my boy to be a soldier. If a million other mothers, if every mother in the country would do the same, we would be safe forever."

Universal service would be in every way beneficial to the State and would be quite as beneficial from the standpoint of those who consider the interest of the State in time of peace as from the standpoint of those who are interested in the welfare of the State in time of war. The normal tests of military efficiency are the very tests which would test a man's efficiency for industry and for the ordinary tasks of civil life. If a large percentage of men are unfit for military service it shows that they are also poorly fit for industrial work. A high percentage of infant mortality does not mean the weeding out of the unfit; it means the existence of conditions

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

which greatly impair the vitality of even those who survive. Moreover, the moral effect is at least as great as the physical.

The fundamental evil in this country is the lack of sufficiently general appreciation of the responsibility of citizenship. Unfair business methods, the misused power of capital, the unjustified activities of labor, pork-barrel legislation, and graft among powerful politicians have all been made possible by, and have been manifestations of, this fundamental evil. Nothing would do more to remedy this evil than the kind of training in citizenship, in patriotism, and in efficiency which would come as the result of universal service on the Swiss or Australian models or rather on a combination of the two adapted to our needs. There should be military training, as part of a high-school education which should include all-round training for citizenship. This training should begin in the schools in serious fashion at about the age of sixteen. Then between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one there should be six months' actual and continuous service in the field with the colors.

Such universal training would give our young men the discipline, the sense of orderly liberty and of loyalty to the interests of the whole people which would tell in striking manner for national cohesion and efficiency. It would tend to enable us in time of need to mobilize not only troops but workers and financial resources and industry itself and to co-ordinate all the factors in national life. There can be no such mobilization and co-ordination until we appreciate the necessity and value of national organization; and universal service would be a most powerful factor in bringing about such general appreciation.

As a result of it, every man, whether he carried a

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

rifle or labored on public works or managed a business or worked on a railway, would have a clearer conception of his obligations to the State. It would moreover be a potent method of Americanizing the immigrant. The events of the last eighteen months have shown us the gravity of the danger to American life of the existence of foreign communities within our borders, where men are taught to preserve their former national identity instead of entering unreservedly into our own national life. The hyphenated American of any type is a bad American and an enemy to this country. The best possible antiscorbutic for this danger is universal service.

Such a service would be essentially democratic. A man has no more right to escape military service in time of need than he has to escape paying his taxes. We do not beseech a man to "volunteer" to pay his taxes, or scream that it would be "an infringement of his liberty" and "contrary to our traditions" to make him pay them. We simply notify him how much he is to pay, and when, and where. We ought to deal just as summarily with him as regards the even more important matter of personal service to the commonwealth in time of war. He is not fit to live in the State unless when the State's life is at stake he is willing and able to serve it in any way that it can best use his abilities, and, as an incident, to fight for it if the State believes it can best use him in such fashion. Unless he takes this position he is not fit to be a citizen and should be deprived of the vote. Universal service is the practical, democratic method of dealing with this problem. Rich boy and poor boy would sleep under the same dog-tent and march shoulder to shoulder in the hikes. Such service would have an immense democratizing effect. It would improve the health of the community, physically

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and morally. It would increase our national power of discipline and self-control. It would produce a national state of mind which would enable us all more clearly to realize the necessity of social legislation in dealing with industrial conditions of every kind, from unemployment among men and the labor of women and children to the encouragement of business activities.

What I thus advocate is nothing new. I am merely applying to present-day conditions the advice given by President George Washington when he submitted a plan for universal military training in his special message to Congress of January 21st, 1790. This plan advocated military training for all the young men of the country, stating that "every man of proper age and ability of body is firmly bound by the social compact to perform personally his proportion of military duty for the defense of the State," and that "all men of the legal military age should be held responsible for different degrees of military service," and that "the United States are to provide for arming, organizing, and disciplining these men." This is merely another name for compulsory universal service, and the plan actually provided that no man of military age should vote unless he possessed a certificate showing that he had performed such service. Washington did not regard professional pacifists as entitled to the suffrage.

I advocate universal service because it would be a potent means of securing a quickened social conscience; because it would help us greatly industrially; and because it would put us where, if necessary, we shall be able to defend ourselves against aggression. This is part, and a vital part, of the doctrine of the larger Americanism. The prime work for this nation at this moment is to rebuild its own character. Let us find our

A SWORD FOR DEFENSE

own souls; let us frankly face the world situation to-day as it affects ourselves and as it affects all other countries. We must have a definite home policy and we must have a definite foreign policy. Let us, when we enter into treaties, speak the truth, be wary of making promises, and honorable in fulfilling them. Let us clear-sightedly and after mature deliberation adopt a definite policy without and within our borders and then prepare ourselves to carry it through. Let us quit trying to fool ourselves by indulging in cheap self-assertion or even cheaper sentimentality. We must have a period of self-searching. We must endeavor to recover our lost self-respect. Let us show in practical fashion that we fear God and therefore deal justly with all men; and let us also show that we can take our own part; for if we cannot take our own part we may be absolutely certain that no one else will try to take it for us. A policy of unpreparedness and of tame submission to insult and aggression invites the kind of repeated insolence by foreign nations which in the end will drive our people into war. I advocate preparedness, and action (not merely words) on behalf of our honor and interest, because such preparedness and the readiness for such action are the surest guaranties of self-respecting peace.

The larger Americanism demands that we insist that every immigrant who comes here shall become an American citizen and nothing else; if he shows that he still remains at heart more loyal to another land, let him be promptly returned to that land; and if, on the other hand, he shows that he is in good faith and wholeheartedly an American, let him be treated as on a full equality with the native-born. This means that foreign-born and native-born alike should be trained to absolute loyalty to the flag, and trained so as to be able effec-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

tively to defend the flag. The larger Americanism demands that we refuse to be sundered from one another along lines of class or creed or section or national origin; that we judge each American on his merits as a man; that we work for the well-being of our bodily selves, but also for the well-being of our spiritual selves; that we consider safety, but that we put honor and duty ahead of safety. Only thus shall we stand erect before the world, high of heart, the masters of our own souls, fit to be the fathers of a race of freemen who shall make and shall keep this land all that it seemed to the prophetic vision of the mighty men who founded it and the mighty men who saved it.

IV

AMERICA FIRST—A PHRASE OR A FACT?

THE present Administration, with its inveterate fondness for Ephraim's diet, and its conviction that phrasemaking is an efficient substitute for action, has plumed itself on the sentence, "America First." In practice it has acted on the theory of "America Last," both at home and abroad, both in Mexico and on the high seas.

One of the first and most elementary duties of any nation worth calling either civilized or self-respecting is to protect its citizens from murder and outrage. For five years in Mexico, and for a year and a half on the high seas in connection with the great European War, the United States Government has signally and basely failed in the performance of this duty. The number of cases in which American men, women, and children have been murdered on the high seas, first by German, and now by Austrian, submarines, and the number of cases in which American men have been murdered and American women raped in Mexico and in which American soldiers of the United States, wearing the United States uniform, have been killed or wounded, and civilians, men, women, and children, killed or wounded on American territory by Mexican soldiers, taken in the aggregate mount far up into the hundreds. The murders of Americans that have taken place within the last thirty days have been of peculiarly cold-blooded character. They have represented a contemptuous disbelief in President Wilson's willingness to do anything except write notes. The deaths of these men and women are

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

primarily due to President Wilson's policy of timidity and weakness.

Not one effective step has been taken to put an end to these atrocities. Moreover, for five years the outrages on the persons and property of other foreigners in Mexico have been numerous; and innocent Mexicans have been butchered by scores of thousands; and in many thousands of cases Mexican girls and women have been submitted to the last extremity of infamy and outrage by the brutal bandits masquerading as military or civil leaders of the Mexican people. Our government has let these people procure ammunition with which to murder our own soldiers and their own peaceful citizens; and the President has actually proclaimed that they ought not to be interfered with in "spilling blood."

During the last year and a half unoffending, peaceful, and law-abiding neutral nations like Belgium, unoffending, industrious, and law-abiding peoples like the Armenians, have been subjected to wrongs far greater than any that have been committed since the close of the Napoleonic wars; and many of them are such as recall the days of the Thirty Years' War in Europe, and, indeed, in the case of the Armenians, the wars of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane in Asia. Yet this government has not raised its hand to do anything to help the people who were wronged or to antagonize the oppressors.

It is not an accident, it betokens a certain sequence of cause and effect, that this course of national infamy on our part began when the last Administration surrendered to the peace-at-any-price people, and started the negotiation of its foolish and wicked all-inclusive arbitration treaties. Individuals and nations who preach the doctrine of milk-and-water invariably have

AMERICA FIRST

in them a softness of fibre which means that they fear to antagonize those who preach and practise the doctrine of blood-and-iron. It is true of our people, as once it was true of the fellow countrymen of Ruskin when he said: "We have been passive where we should not have been passive, for fear. The principle of non-intervention, as now practised among us, is as selfish and cruel as the worst frenzy of conquest, and differs from it only by being not only malignant, but dastardly."

Professional pacifists of the stamp of Messrs. Bryan, Jordan, and Ford, who in the name of peace preach doctrines that would entail not merely utter infamy but utter disaster to their own country, never in practice venture to denounce concrete wrong by dangerous wrong-doers. Professional pacifists attack evil only when it can be done with entire safety to themselves. In the present great crisis, the professional pacifists have confined themselves to trying to prevent the United States from protecting its honor and interest and the lives of its citizens abroad; and in their loud denunciations of war they have been careful to use language which would apply equally to terribly wronged peoples defending all that was dear to them against cynical and ruthless oppression, and to the men who were responsible for this cynical and ruthless oppression. They dare not speak for righteousness in the concrete. They dare not speak against the most infamous wrong in the concrete. They work hand in glove with these exponents of hyphenated Americanism who are seeking to turn this country into an ally and tool of alien militarism.

These professional pacifists, through President Wilson, have forced this country into a path of shame and dishonor during the past eighteen months. Thanks to

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

President Wilson, the most powerful of democratic nations has refused to recognize the binding moral force of international public law. Our country has shirked its clear duty. One outspoken and straightforward declaration by this government against the dreadful iniquities perpetrated in Belgium, Armenia, and Servia would have been worth to humanity a thousand times as much as all that the professional pacifists have done in the past fifty years.

The effect of our inaction in Mexico has been unspeakably dreadful. It has on the whole been surpassed in dishonor by the action of our government in reference to the great European War—remembering in both cases that supine inaction may under many conditions prove the very worst form of action. Fine phrases become sickening when they represent nothing whatever but adroitness in phrase-making, with no intention of putting deeds behind the phrases. For three years the United States Government has been engaged in sending notes and diplomatic protests and inquiries and warnings and ultimatums and penultimatums to Germany, to Mexico, to Austria; and not one of these notes really meant or achieved anything. These notes of Mr. Wilson resemble the “notes” of Mr. Micawber. The Micawber notes and the Wilson notes were of different kinds. But in value they were plainly on a par. The Micawber notes always went to protest; and Mr. Micawber always fondly believed that one could be sufficiently met by issuing another. Mr. Wilson has suffered from the same fond delusion.

During this period the Administration has failed to protect its naturalized citizens in their rights when they have behaved themselves; and yet when they have not behaved themselves has failed to insist on their per-

AMERICA FIRST

forming their duties to the country to which they have sworn allegiance. It has permitted the representatives of the German and Austrian peoples and the German-Americans and Austro-Americans whose allegiance is to Germany or Austria and not to the United States to carry on within our border a propaganda of which one of the results has been the partial or entire destruction by fire or dynamite of factory after factory. Summary action of a drastic type would have put a stop to this warfare waged against our people in time of peace; but the Administration has not ventured to act. There has been a great alien conspiracy carried on against America on American soil, and it has been encouraged by the Administration's passivity.

The Austrian ambassador, Doctor Dumba, wrote to the Austrian minister of foreign affairs: "We can disorganize and hold up, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which is of great importance, and amply outweighs the expenditure of money involved." Three months after this was written, the threat was made good as regards Bethlehem, and the *Germania Herald* in Milwaukee expressed joy over the deed, saying on November 12th: "We rejoice from the depths of our heart over the destruction of these murderous machines." Ten days later a so-called "German-American" mass-meeting took place in Milwaukee, and the same paper next day remarked with exultation: "Germany last night spoke to her children on a foreign shore loudly and distinctly." So she did. The president of the meeting said that their purpose was "to spread German ideals" throughout the country (we have seen above how they were spread, with the bomb and the torch) and that he and his fellows "considered the hyphen an honor." The next

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

speaker was quite as frank, saying: "We are all German brothers together, no matter in what country we may live." The men who make and applaud such utterances are the enemies of this country. Their insolence is rendered possible because this Administration is too afraid of the political consequences to dare to uphold the honor of the American flag or protect the lives of American citizens.

Before recurring to the dreadful dereliction of duty to our own citizens I wish to speak another word as to the failure on our part to perform our duty toward neutral nations. On August 23d, 1915, the *New York World*, recognized by common consent as President Wilson's special organ, published in detail certain secret papers obtained from the German Embassy as to the negotiations between the embassy and President Wilson and as to the steps taken by the German representatives to engineer a pro-German campaign in the United States. I would not pay any heed to these statements if they had been from an anti-Administration paper; but they come, as I say, from the special organ of the Administration. Among other things this correspondence shows that an individual designated by the initials M. P., purporting to convey a special message from the President to the German Embassy, reported:

"1. The note to England will go in any event, whether Germany answers satisfactorily or not [the question of attacks by German submarines].

"2. Should it be possible to settle satisfactorily the *Lusitania* case, the President will bind himself to carry the protest against England through to the uttermost.

"3. The continuance of the difference with Germany over the *Lusitania* case is 'embarrassing' for the President in carrying out the protest against England.

AMERICA FIRST

"4. The President intimated his willingness to discuss the note to Germany [the note of July 21st which remains unanswered] with M. P., and eventually so to influence it that there will be an agreement for its reception and also to be ready to influence the press 'through a wink.'

"The President also openly declared that he could hardly hope for a positive statement that the submarine warfare would be discontinued."

Furthermore, the report was that the President, through M. P., "wishes to have the trend of the German note before the note is officially sent, and declares himself ready, before the answer is drafted, to discuss it with M. P. so as to secure an agreement for its reception."

Now, the action of the President since these exposures were made shows that M. P. either spoke by direction of the President or possessed the gifts of mind-reading and prophecy; for the agreement he purported to convey to the German ambassador from the President has since been carried out to the letter. Germany has never made any atonement for the *Lusitania* case, but when England had destroyed its submarines around the British Isles, and when Germany was in consequence helpless to go on with this kind of warfare, it then consented to abandon it, eight months after the President had first warned them on the subject—during which eight months it had sunk ship after ship in defiance of the President's warning, treating with the contemptuous indifference they deserved the successive notes which the President continued sending as substitutes for action. As soon as the President had received this make-believe concession, he did what M. P. had assured the German ambassador would be done. He sent a strong

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

note to England. This note was trumpeted as showing that the President was taking the same action against Germany as against England. The statement was nonsense. Interference with commerce is in no sense whatever comparable with the heinousness of murder on the high seas. The controversy with Great Britain was a controversy as to commerce, as to property. The controversy with Germany was a controversy of humanity concerning the protection of innocent men, women, and children from murder on the ocean. President Wilson was making good the promise which M. P. had alleged the President had forwarded through him, and it was being done at the expense of humanity and at the expense of our reputation for good faith and courage. All that remains to be seen is whether Mr. Wilson will now fulfil entirely the promise of M. P. to the German ambassador and carry out this policy against England, on which he has embarked, "to the uttermost."

But this is not all. For a year and a quarter the President had not only kept silent over the hideous wrong inflicted on Belgium in and after the violation of its neutrality by Germany, but had publicly stated that as regards this violation of neutrality, this conflict between right and wrong, it was our duty to be "neutral not only in word, but in thought." There was no question as to what had been done. The chancellor of the German Empire on August 3d, 1914, stated that in invading Belgium, Germany had committed "a breach of international law" and had declined "to respect the neutrality of Belgium," and that he admitted "the wrong which we are now committing." Yet in spite of this declaration, and of our inaction, the President, through the secretary of state, in his note to England used the following expressions: "The task of cham-

AMERICA FIRST

pioning the integrity of neutral rights which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents, the United States unhesitatingly assumes and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies." It is literally astounding that any human being could have been guilty of the forgetfulness or effrontery of such a statement. As has been well said, it is odious hypocrisy to pose as the champion of neutral rights when the alleged champion ignores homicide, but is fearless about petty larceny. In his previous correspondence with Germany, President Wilson had informed Germany that if it acted as later it actually did act, he would hold it to "a strict accountability," and he showed by his subsequent conduct that in his view these words meant precisely and exactly nothing. By his previous conduct he has shown that this new announcement about "unhesitatingly championing the integrity of neutral rights" amounts to much less than nothing.

A year and a half ago I pointed out that it was the duty of the United States to "champion the integrity of the neutral rights" of Belgium (which had received the sanction of The Hague conventions to which the United States was a signatory) against the "lawless conduct" of belligerent Germany. At that time the defenders of Mr. Wilson denounced me on the ground that I "wished neutrality violated" and wished the United States to ignore its own interests and meddle in something which was, financially speaking, not its own affair. Mr. Wilson himself publicly announced that it was not our duty to champion these neutral rights of Belgium against "the lawless conduct of belligerent" Germany, but that we should be neutral, "not only in word, but in thought." Yet now, a year later, Mr. Wil-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

son repudiates his former position and himself expresses exactly my thought and my demand in practically exactly my language. Only—I meant what I said! Whereas Mr. Wilson's acts have shown that he did not mean what he said, so far as a nation of which he was afraid was concerned. The difference is that having caused our nation to shirk its duty to others, having caused it to shirk its duty when its own citizens were murdered, so long as the offender was a strong and ruthless nation, one with a large voting strength of its former citizens in this country, he now valiantly asserts, against a nation whose representatives have no voting strength in this country and which he believes can with impunity be defied, rights as regards cargoes of merchandise upon which he did not dare to insist when the point at issue was the slaughter of women and children; whereas I ask that we stand up for the wronged and the weak against the strength of evil triumphant, and that while we defend our property rights, we even more strongly defend the lives of our men and children, and the lives and honor of our women.

As regards Belgium, Mr. Wilson has played the part which nineteen hundred years ago was played by the Levite toward the wayfarer who fell among thieves near Jericho. He now improves on the conduct of the Levite; for he comes to an understanding with the plunderer of the wayfarer and in his interest endeavors to browbeat the nations which (however mixed their motives) did in actual fact endeavor to play the part of the Good Samaritan toward unhappy Belgium.

Mr. Wilson, a year later, has finally adopted my principle about preparedness, although he has sought to apply it in a half-hearted and inefficient manner; a year after I denounced peace-at-any-price, he followed

AMERICA FIRST

suit, quoting the verses of Ezekiel which for months I had been quoting; a year after I had attacked hyphenated Americanism Mr. Wilson followed suit—at least before the Colonial Dames; and now he accepts my doctrine of America's duty to neutral nations, which a year ago he stoutly opposed. But he applies it only as regards American dollars, and only in relation to nations who can be trusted not to be rude. I believe it should be applied as regards American dollars, but even more as regards American lives, and that it should first and most stoutly be asserted as regards the chief and most formidable offender.

Come back to the case of the *Lusitania*! When that ship was sunk scores of women and children, including American women and children, paid with their lives the penalty of a brutal and murderous attack by a war-ship which was acting in pursuance of the settled policy of the German Government. President Wilson sat supine and complacent, making on the following night his celebrated statement about a nation "being too proud to fight," a statement that under the circumstances could only be taken as meaning that the murder of American women and children would be accepted by American men as justifying nothing more than empty declamation. These men, women, and children of the *Lusitania* were massacred because the German Government believed that the Wilson Administration did not intend to back up its words with deeds. The result showed that they were right in their belief. Eight months have gone by since then. American ships were sunk and torpedoed before and afterward; other American lives were lost; and the President wrote other notes upon the subject; but he never pressed the *Lusitania* case; and the only explanation must be found in his fear lest the Ger-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

mans might refuse to disavow their action. Even the disavowal in the case of the *Arabic* came only when the last possibility of profit to Germany by killings that extended to neutrals had vanished. President Wilson had done nothing beyond uttering prettily phrased platitudes about abstract morality without any relation to action.

On July 21st last in a formal note he asked of Germany a disavowal and promise of indemnity for the *Lusitania*. This was the note which M. P. purported to explain in the quotation above given. If the explanation he gave to the German ambassador did not represent President Wilson's intentions, then there is absolutely no explanation of the fact that for six months after that note was sent there was no answer from Germany and no second demand made for an answer. The subject was renewed only when Germany found that her submarine warfare had failed, and that it was worth her while to pretend to abandon it if thereby she could get the United States to play her game against England, France, and Belgium. Germany believed, seemingly with reason, that in return for a pretended concession to President Wilson, the latter would play Germany's game against England. And this movement was only halted (whether temporarily or not we cannot now say) by the revelations in January of the complicity of the German Embassy in the plots against our munition plants.

Apparently President Wilson has believed that the American people would permanently forget their dead and would slur over the dishonor and disgrace to the United States by that basest of all the base pleas of cowardly souls, which finds expression in the statement: "Oh, well, anyhow the President kept us out of war!"

AMERICA FIRST

The people who make this plea assert with quavering voices that they "are behind the President." So they are; well behind him. The farther away from the position of duty and honor and hazard he has backed, the farther behind him these gentry have stood—or run. "Stand by the President"—yes, while the President is right; and stand against him when he is wrong. In '56 and '60 the only way to stand by Lincoln was to stand against Pierce and Buchanan—as Lincoln did. If after the firing on Sumter, Lincoln had immediately in a speech declared that the friends of the Union might be "too proud to fight," and had spent the next four months in exchanging "firm" diplomatic notes with Jefferson Davis, he would have received the enthusiastic support of the ardent adherents of peace—and we would now have had no country.

The German press, which is sometimes appallingly frank, has with refreshing simplicity given us the exact German view when, in commenting on Mr. Wilson's note to England, the *Koelnische Volkszeitung* recently remarked: "If America had from the first energetically taken the position against Great Britain now adopted, there would have been no submarine war, no sinking of the *Lusitania* or the *Arabic*."

Evidently this German paper is in cordial agreement with M. P., and it will be impossible to desire better proof of the deliberate purpose with which the murderous assault on the *Lusitania* was contrived, and of the German belief that this murderous assault has achieved its purpose in terrorizing President Wilson into his present action about England, action which Doctor Dernburg, speaking not only for Germany, but for the hyphenated American voters of our own country, eulogizes as showing that Mr. Wilson is entitled to reward.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

So he is—except from Americans! But Doctor Delbrueck, also speaking for Germany, warns Mr. Wilson that his note against England must be followed by action if he hopes to retain German good-will. The insolence with which the German Government browbeats the timid folk at Washington is matched by the extreme cynicism of its brutality. It coerces wretched Belgians to make munitions with which to kill their own countrymen and protests against Americans making munitions to rescue Belgium from the murderers. And there are Americans so base as to advocate yielding to such threats and protests; while Mr. Henry Ford takes some of his fellow pacifists on a peace-junket to Europe, in the effort to bring about a peace more degrading to humanity than the worst war—a peace which would consecrate successful wrong, and trample righteousness in the dust.

As the direct result of our failure to act in the case of the *Lusitania*, came another hideous misdeed, the sinking of the *Ancona*. Over two hundred persons, most of them women and children, were murdered as a result of this submarine attack on a helpless passenger-ship. Nine of those murdered were Americans. Of course, it is a matter of absolutely no consequence whether the deed was done by an Austrian or a German submarine. Remember the *Lusitania*! The deaths of these poor women and children on the *Ancona*, and on the various other ships that were sunk under similar circumstances, were due to the cowardice of our action, of the action of the American people through its Administration, in the case of the *Lusitania*. If our government had acted as it ought to have acted—as all of us who believe in American honor demanded that it should act, at the time—there would be no *Ancona* case now, no further

AMERICA FIRST

murders of women and children on the high seas. And yet the Administration sat eagerly, nervously waiting for some pretext, some trivial excuse which would enable it to avoid action; and it acted at all only when the Austrian Government answered with such rude insolence as to force some action; and even then, the President did not dare act about the *Lusitania* case. The Austrian vote in this country is small and divided, and Austria cannot menace us in military manner. Neither statement applies to Germany and the professional German-Americans; and accordingly President Wilson turns from the first and most formidable offender, the offender of whom he is afraid, and seeks to distract attention by action against Austria, of whom he is much less afraid. About the *Lusitania* the President wrote note after note, each filled with lofty expressions and each sterile in its utter futility, because it did not mean action, and Germany knew it did not mean action. Then came the *Ancona* as the direct result of this policy of shuffling timidity and delay, just as the *Lusitania* itself was the direct result of the policy of "watchful waiting," that is, of shuffling timidity and delay, in Mexico. And after the sinking of the *Ancona* came the sinking of the *Persia*, and after the sinking of the *Persia* the proofs of the activity of Germany's official representative, Von Papen, in the campaign of murder and arson against our munition factories. I blame the Administration, but I blame even more the American people, who stand supine and encourage their representatives to permit unchecked the murder of women and children and other non-combatants rather than to take a policy which might, forsooth, jeopardize the life of some strong fighting man.

The Administration has recently devised a campaign

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

button with a new campaign catch phrase—"safety first." It certainly expresses their attitude in putting honor and duty in the second place, or, rather, in no place at all. Safety first! This is the motto on which in a shipwreck those men act who crowd into the lifeboats ahead of the women and children—although they do not afterward devise a button to commemorate this feat. There could be no more ignoble motto for a high-spirited and duty-loving nation. The countrymen of Washington and Lincoln, of Jackson and Grant, of Lee and Farragut, ought to hang their heads in shame at seeing their representatives in Washington thinking not about the slaughtered women and children, not about the wrongs done to the helpless and the dangers to our own people, but only about the best way to escape from the situation without being required to show either courage or patriotism. It is an evil day for a people when it permits its chosen representatives to practise the gospel of cowardice and of utter and selfish abandonment of duty. Let our countrymen remember that this policy of dishonor and discredit does not even secure the safety which it seeks. The policy of the Administration has not invited respect. It has invited murder. It has not secured peace—which, by the way, probably could have been secured by a policy of self-respecting strength and firmness. Peace is now in jeopardy, because weakness and timidity invite the constant repetition of actions which will in time goad any nation into war.

Nor is this all. Germany and Austria have not only been carrying on war against us on the high seas. They have carried on war against us here in our own land. They have, through their representatives, encouraged strikes and outrages in our factories. It has been published in the press that in their consulates and in the

AMERICA FIRST

foreign papers controlled or influenced by these consulates the Administration's ruling about "dual citizenship" has been printed as a warning to immigrant working men that they were still citizens of their old countries and had to obey the directions of their former governmental representatives. Doctor Joseph Goricar, formerly Austro-Hungarian consul at San Francisco, has resigned because he declined to take part in the organized movement to destroy munition plants in this country. This movement is simply war; a war of assassination instead of open battle, but war nevertheless; and it is the direct result of the Administration's supine position.

Surely one of our first needs is self-defense against the conspirators of the torch and the bomb. The men who are engaged in this work are a great deal worse than ordinary alien enemies. The newspapers that apologize for their deeds or condone them should promptly be excluded from the mails. The men behind them, the high governmental authorities of Germany and Austria, are engaged in a much more vicious warfare in this country than if they were actually resorting to open force of arms. But President Wilson has been seeking to placate, not only these contemptuously hostile foreign nations, but also the men nominally citizens of this country, but really loyal to the foreign countries now hostile to us. He has by his actions encouraged these men to try to turn this country into a kind of polyglot boarding-house where any set of alien boarders may preach disloyalty and encourage treason and murder with impunity.

It is sickening to have to recapitulate the dreadful deeds that have been done during the last year and a quarter, while the United States sat tamely by. Miss

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

Cavell was killed for deeds such as were committed by literally thousands of women, North and South, during the Civil War in this country; and if either Abraham Lincoln or Jefferson Davis had ever dreamed of putting any of these women to death, a deafening roar of execration would have gone up from the men of both sides. But there was no hesitation in killing Miss Cavell, and there was no disapprobation expressed by our Administration. Belgium was blotted out from the list of nations by an act which was a more flagrant instance of international wickedness than anything that has occurred since the close of the Napoleonic struggles; but this Administration did not venture to speak about it; and all the professional pacifists, the men of the stamp of Messrs. Bryan, Jordan, and Ford, while with sobbing voices they called for peace, peace, did not venture even to allude to the outrage that had been perpetrated. Remember, there is not the slightest room for honest question either as to the dreadful, the unspeakably hideous, outrages committed on the Belgians, or as to the fact that these outrages were methodically committed by the express command of the German Government, in order to terrorize both the Belgians and among neutrals those men who are as cold and timid and selfish as our governmental leaders have shown themselves to be. Let any man who doubts read the statement of an American eye-witness of these fearful atrocities, Mr. Arthur H. Gleason, in the New York *Tribune* of November 25, 1915. Serbia is at this moment passing under the harrow of torture and mortal anguish. Now, the Armenians have been butchered under circumstances of murder and torture and rape that would have appealed to an old-time Apache Indian. The Administration can do nothing even if it wishes; for its timid silence

AMERICA FIRST

about Belgium, its cringing fear of acting in the interests of our own citizens when killed by Mexicans in Mexico or by Germans and Austrians on the high seas, would render any wordy protest on its part a subject-matter for derision—and every one knows that it would not venture beyond a wordy protest.

But in the case of the Armenians some of the professional pacifists and praisers of neutrality have ventured to form committees and speak about—not act about—the “Armenian atrocities.” These individuals did not venture to say anything about the Belgian atrocities; but they are willing to speak, although of course not to act, on behalf of Armenia. The explanation is simple. They were afraid of Germany; they were afraid of the German vote. But there is no Turkish vote, and they are not afraid of Turkey.

Under circumstances such as these it is the last note of unpatriotic folly for the pacifists of this country to chatter about peace, when they neither venture to stand up for righteousness nor to fight for real preparedness, so as to enable the United States to insure justice for itself and to demand justice for others. Mr. Taft accepts the presidency of the “League to Enforce Peace,” and must of course know that unless the United States had an army of two or three million men it could do nothing at all toward “enforcing peace” in a crisis like the present World War; and yet, according to the press, he states that even a standing army of a couple of hundred thousand men means “militarism” and “aggression” and is to be opposed. This country will never be able to find its own soul or to play a part of high nobility in the world until it realizes the full extent of the damage done to it, materially and morally, by the ignoble peace propaganda for which these men and the others like

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

them, whether capitalists, labor leaders, college professors, politicians or publicists, are responsible.

The United States has not a friend in the world. Its conduct, under the leadership of its official representatives, for the last five years and, above all, for the last three years, has deprived it of the respect and has secured for it the contempt of every one of the great civilized nations of mankind. Peace treaties and windy Fourth of July eloquence and the base materialism which seeks profit as an incident to the abandonment of duty will not help it now. For five years our rulers at Washington have believed that all this people cared for was easy money, absence of risk and effort, and sounding platitudes which were not reduced to action. We have so acted as to convince other nations that in very truth we *are* too proud to fight; and the man who is too proud to fight is in practice always treated as just proud enough to be kicked. We have held our peace when our women and children were slain. We have turned away our eyes from the sight of our brother's woe.

All of Mr. Henry Ford's companions, in the peace propaganda, led by gentlemen of the Bryan and Jordan type, could with profit study the thoughts expressed by Mr. E. S. Martin when he said:

"Nobody is much good who has not in him some idea, some ideal, that he cares more for than he does for life, even though it is life alleviated by the Ford motor.

"You help to make life pleasant, but war, Henry, helps to make it noble; and if it is not noble it does not matter a damn, Henry, whether it is pleasant or not. That is the old lesson of Calvary repeated at Mons and Ypres and Liège and Namur.

"Whether there are more people in the world or less,

AMERICA FIRST

whether they are fat or lean, whether there are Fords or oxen, makes no vital difference; but whether men shall be willing to die for what they believe in makes all the difference between a pigsty and Paradise. Not by bread alone, Henry, shall men live."

If the people have not vision, they shall surely perish. No man has a right to live who has not in his soul the power to die nobly for a great cause. Let abhorrence be for those who wage wanton or wicked wars, who with ruthless violence oppress the upright and the unoffending. Pay all honor to the preachers of peace who put righteousness above peace. But shame on the creatures who would teach our people that it is anything but base to be unready and unable to defend right, even at need by the sternest of all tests, the test of righteous war, war waged by a high-couraged people with souls attuned to the demands of a lofty ideal.

Have these professional pacifists lost every quality of manhood? Are they ignorant of the very meaning of nobility of soul? Their words are an affront to the memory of Washington, their deeds a repudiation of the life-work of Lincoln. Are they steeped in such sordid materialism that they do not feel one thrill as they read Edward Everett Hale's "The Man Without a Country"? It is strange indeed that even their cold and timid hearts should be unstirred by Lowell's homely lines:

"Better that all our ships an' all their crews
Should sink to rot in ocean's dreamless ooze,
Each torn flag wavin' challenge as it went,
An' each dumb gun a brave man's monument,
Than seek sech peace ez only cowards crave;
Give me the peace of dead men or of brave."

V

INTERNATIONAL DUTY AND HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

DURING the past year the activities of our professional pacifists have been exercised almost exclusively on behalf of hideous international iniquity. They have struck hands with those evil enemies of America, the hyphenated Americans, and with the greediest representatives of those Americans whose only god is money. They have sought to make this country take her stand against right that was downtrodden, and in favor of wrong that seemed likely to be successful. Every man or woman who has clamored for peace without daring to say that peace would be a crime unless Belgium was restored to her own people and the repetition of such wrong-doing as that from which she has suffered provided against, has served the devil and not the Lord. Every man or woman who in the name of peace now advocates the refusal on the part of the United States to furnish arms and munitions of war to those nations who have had the manliness to fight for the redressing of Belgium's wrongs, is serving the devil and not the Lord.

As for the hyphenated Americans, among the very many lessons taught by the last year has been the lesson that the effort to combine fealty to the flag of an immigrant's natal land with fealty to the flag of his adopted land, in practice means not merely disregard of, but hostility to, the flag of the United States. When two flags are hoisted on the same pole, one is always hoisted undermost. The hyphenated American always hoists

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

the American flag undermost. The American citizen of German birth or descent who is a good American and nothing but a good American, and whose whole loyalty is undividedly given to this country and its flag, stands on an exact level with every other American, and is entitled to precisely the same consideration and treatment as if his ancestors had come over on the *Mayflower* or had settled on the banks of the James three centuries ago. I am partly of German blood, and I am exactly as proud of this blood as of the blood of other strains that flows in my veins. But—I am an American, and nothing else!

The German-Americans who call themselves such and who have agitated as such during the past year, have shown that they are not Americans at all, but Germans in America. Their action has been hostile to the honor and the interest of this country. The man who sings “Deutschland über Alles” means exactly what he sings. He means that he puts Deutschland above the American flag, above the honor of the United States, and above the well-being of Americans as a whole.

The Americans of German origin have been a peculiarly valuable element in our population. I believe that they are, in overwhelming proportion, thorough-going Americans. As I have said, I am partly of German blood. A large number of my closest friends, a large number of the men whom I most respect and honor in American life, are Americans of German parentage or descent or of German birth. One such American, a descendant of one of Blücher’s colonels, sat in my Cabinet; and he sat beside another American, a descendant of one of Napoleon’s brothers. But each was an American and nothing else! The scientific book of which I was proudest, I wrote in partnership with a

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART.

close friend, a naturalist who was with me in Africa; he is of German parentage; but he is an American and nothing else. The man who was closest to me politically during the ten years of my service as governor and President was of German parentage; but he was absolutely straight American. Some of the best men in my regiment, including my orderly and one captain, were of German birth or descent; but they were Americans, pure and simple. Among the clergymen, philanthropists, publicists, good citizens of all kinds, with whom I work in heartiest sympathy, an unusually large proportion are of German descent and some of German birth. I get on with these men and women exactly as well as I do with the men and women of Colonial American descent. But I get on with them because they are Americans and nothing else.

I stand for the American citizen of German birth or descent, precisely as I stand for any other American. But I do not stand at all for the German-American, or any other kind of hyphenated American. When I was President I was brought into close contact with many officers of the army and navy. Colonel George Washington Goethals has done the best work done by any American of recent years. He is of Dutch parentage. But he is no more a Dutch-American than I am. He is just plain American. Among my military and naval aides were Lee, Grant, Sheridan, and Osterhaus, all descended from generals who fought in the Union or Confederate armies. Two of them were of old Revolutionary stock, Scotch or English. The grandfather of the third was born in Ireland, and the grandfather of the fourth in Germany. But they were all Americans and nothing else. General Wood, of Revolutionary stock, started Cuba on the road to self-government;

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

General Barry, of Irish parentage, commanded the army that rescued Cuba from revolution; and one was exactly as good an American as the other. Among the admirals upon whom I leaned were Dewey, Evans, Taylor, and Cameron Winslow, of Revolutionary stock; and O'Neil and Schroeder, one of Irish and the other of German descent; and the last two were exactly as good Americans as the other four. It would have been a crime as well as a calamity to endeavor to divide all these and all the other fine and gallant officers of our army and navy on lines of birth or national origin or creed. It is no less a crime and a calamity to attempt to divide our citizens as a whole along such lines.

There was never a better American than Jacob Riis, who was born in Denmark and whom I always thought about the best American I ever knew. The Americans in whom I believe include Jews and Catholics and Protestants. They include men of old native American descent and other men of recent German, English, French, Irish, Italian, Scandinavian, Magyar, and Slavonic descent; but all are Americans entitled to be treated as such, and claiming to be nothing else. I as emphatically condemn opposition to a good American who happens to be of German birth or descent, because of that fact, as I condemn action by such a man designed to serve not the United States, but some foreign power. I speak against the German-American who seeks to use his American citizenship in the interest of a foreign power and who thereby shows himself an unworthy American. I should speak exactly as quickly against the American of English or French or Scandinavian or Irish descent who was guilty of similar conduct. The following letter which I recently wrote explains itself:

“—— I am very sorry but I cannot sign that appeal.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

I do not approve of it. You are asking Americans to proclaim themselves Anglo-Americans, and to sympathize with England on the ground that England is the motherland, and in order to make what you call 'hands across the sea' a matter of living policy. I do not believe that this is the right attitude for Americans to take. England is not my motherland any more than Germany is my fatherland. My motherland and fatherland and my own land are all three of them the United States. I am among those Americans whose ancestors include men and women from many different European countries. The proportion of Americans of this type will steadily increase. I do not believe in hyphenated Americans. I do not believe in German-Americans or Irish-Americans; and I believe just as little in English-Americans. I do not approve of American citizens of German descent forming organizations to force the United States into practical alliance with Germany because their ancestors came from Germany. Just as little do I believe in American citizens of English descent forming leagues to force the United States into an alliance with England because their ancestors came from England. We Americans are a separate people. We are separated from, although akin to, many European peoples. The old Revolutionary stock was predominantly English, but by no means exclusively so; for many of the descendants of the Revolutionary New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, and Georgians have, like myself, strains of Dutch, French, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and German blood in their veins. During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since we became a nation, there has been far more immigration from Germany and Ireland and probably from Scandinavia than there has been from England. We have a right to ask all of these

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

immigrants and the sons of these immigrants that they become Americans and nothing else; but we have no right to ask that they become transplanted or second-rate Englishmen. Most emphatically I myself am not an Englishman-once-removed! I am straight United States!

“In international matters we should treat each nation on its conduct and without the slightest reference to the fact that a larger or smaller proportion of its blood flows in the veins of our own citizens. I have publicly and emphatically taken ground for Belgium and I wish that the United States would take ground for Belgium, because I hold that this is our duty, and that Germany’s conduct toward Belgium demands that we antagonize her in this matter, and that we emphatically and in practical shape try to see that Belgium’s wrongs are redressed. Because of the British attitude toward Belgium I have publicly and emphatically approved of her attitude, that is of Great Britain’s conduct in living up to her obligations by defending Belgium, even at the cost of war. But I am not doing this on any ground that there is any ‘hands across the sea’ alliance, explicit or implicit, with England. I have never used in peace or in war any such expression as ‘hands across the sea,’ and I emphatically disapprove of what it signifies save in so far as it means cordial friendship between us and every other nation that acts in accordance with the standards that we deem just and right. On this ground all Americans, no matter what their race origins, ought to stand together. It is not just that they should be asked to stand with any foreign power on the ground of community of origin between some of them and the citizens of that foreign power. [Signed Theodore Roosevelt.]”

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

We of America form a new nationality. We are by blood, and we ought to be by feeling, akin to but distinct from every nationality of Europe. If our various constituent strains endeavor to keep themselves separate from the rest of their fellow countrymen by the use of hyphens, they are doing all in their power to prevent themselves and ourselves from ever becoming a real nationality at all.

An American who is loyal to this great American nation has two duties, and only two, in international matters. In the first place, he is bound to serve the honor and the interest of the United States. In the second place, he is bound to treat all other nations in accordance with their conduct at any given time, and in accordance with the ultimate needs of mankind at large; and not in accordance with the interests of the European nation from which some or all of his ancestors have come. If he does not act along these lines, he is derelict in his duty to his fellow citizens and he is guilty of betraying the interests of his country.

As for the persons who base their actions upon greed in such a crisis as this, little needs to be said. The beef baron or the representative of the cotton interests who wishes to ignore the butchery of our women and children, and the sinking of our ships by German submarines, and to take sides against the Allies so that he may make money by the sale of cotton and beef, is faithless to every consideration of honor and decency. It is entirely fitting that the sheer materialist should on such an issue stand shoulder to shoulder with the professional pacifist, the peace-at-any-price man, and with his sinister brother, the hyphenated American. These men by their actions seek to condone the murder of American men, women, and children and the trampling

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

of Belgium into bloody mire. They are false to the cause of humanity. They come perilously near being treasonable to this country. It is hard to decide which is the most abject quality; the greed of the mere materialists or the short-sighted cowardice of the professional pacifists. As for the hyphenated American, he endeavors to serve his foreign fatherland without exposing his own wretched carcass to the danger which would come to him if he served in the trenches beside his fellow countrymen who have stayed at home—and who at least pretend to no divided allegiance.

I am not willing to admit that this nation has no duty to other nations. Yet the action of this government during the past year can only be defended on the assumption that we have no such duty to others.

Of course, it is a defensible, although not a lofty, position to deny that there is such a duty. But it is wholly indefensible to proclaim that there is such a duty and then in practice to abandon it. It is a base thing to propose to pass all-inclusive arbitration treaties, and to pass the thirty-odd all-inclusive commission peace treaties that actually have been passed during the last two years, and yet not to dare to say one word when The Hague conventions which we have already signed are violated by the strong at the expense of the weak. I agree with the abstract theory of the men responsible for all these various treaties; for this theory is to the effect that America owes a duty to the world, to humanity at large. I disagree with their practice, because I believe that we should in fact perform this duty, instead of merely talking about it in the abstract and then shamefully abandoning it the moment it becomes concrete.

As a nation, during the past eighteen months we have

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

refused to prepare to defend our own rights by our own strength. We have also refused to say one word against international wrong-doing of the most dreadful character. We have refused to carry out the promises we made in The Hague conventions. We have been guilty of all these mean sins of omission, we are officially told, in the hope that the Administration may secure the empty honor of being a go-between when the belligerents decide to make peace. The actions of the Administration have tended to create such conditions that the "peace" shall be in the interest of the wrong-doer, and at the expense of his helpless victim. It is not right that this nation should be asked thus to shirk its duty to itself and to others in order to secure such a worthless function for any person whatsoever. Our plain duty was to stand against wrong, to help in stamping out the wrong, to help in protecting the innocent who had been wronged. This duty we have ignobly shirked. Nor is there any immediate probability that the empty honor which the Administration seeks will be granted to it. If it were, then doubtless there would be shallow Americans who would trumpet the fact as somehow creditable to America. But there is not another nation by which the United States under such conditions would be treated as having played any part excepting that of a dupe; or else the part of a cold and selfish intriguer, willing to sacrifice the welfare of humanity to the gratification of personal vanity.

Let our people keep their eyes fixed on the case of Belgium. Belgium had faithfully observed her international obligations. She had fulfilled her duties in a spirit of loyal impartiality. She had neglected no opportunity to maintain her neutrality and to cause it to be respected by others. The attack upon her indepen-

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

dence by Germany was a flagrant violation of the law of nations and a crime against humanity. It has been carried out with inhuman severity. There has been no more abhorrent spectacle in history than the revenge visited upon Belgium for her dauntless defense of national rights and international obligations. In all the grim record of the last year this is the overshadowing accomplishment of evil. The American who defends the action taken against Belgium, or who fails to condemn it, is unworthy to live in a free country, or to associate with men of lofty soul and generous temper. Deep though the hurts are which have been inflicted upon civilization by the sacrifice of millions of lives among the bravest and best of the men of Europe, yet deeper and more lasting is the wound given by the blow struck at international law and international righteousness in the destruction of Belgium. This crime of Germany was a crime against international good faith, a crime against the soul of international law and fair dealing. It is to this act of unforgivable treachery that every succeeding infamy is to be traced; from terrorism and indiscriminate slaughter on land to terrorism and indiscriminate massacre of non-combatants at sea. And this crime of Germany has been condoned by the recreant silence of neutral nations, and above all by the recreant silence of the United States and its failure to live bravely up to its solemn promises.

I am not speaking now of the hideous atrocities committed in Belgium and northern France, as shown in such reports as that of the committee of which Lord Bryce was chairman. I am not now speaking of the killing of non-combatants, including scores of women and children, in England and Italy, by aircraft and sea-craft. I deal only with facts as to which there is no

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

dispute. In its broad outlines, what has occurred in the invasion of Belgium is not susceptible of dispute. The action being taken at this moment in Belgium is spoken of as follows by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in replying to German critics who were actually asserting that Belgium was being too mercifully treated. The German defense of Germany's "merciful" action in Belgium is as follows (condensed; the italics are my own):

"The German Government is acting in Belgium with the object of preventing the safety and health of our army from being imperilled by famine and disease behind it. For this reason the German Government has gladly consented to food being supplied to the starving population by neutral countries *in order to insure that our own troops shall not suffer privation*. No more coal will be allowed to be taken from Belgian mines than will suffice for *the bare needs of the shivering people* and enable the industrious laboriously to exist. It is the right of the conqueror and our duty toward our own army to enable the conquered territory to produce the sums which without prejudice to a later war indemnity are withdrawn from the country in the shape of contributions. We demand at present from Belgium a payment of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars to be made in instalments within one year. *This sum represents the limit of the present capacity of the country*, which has been grievously affected by the war. The loss suffered by Belgium thus far through actual destruction is estimated at a value of more than a billion and a quarter of dollars. To this figure we have to add the contribution, *and the whole amount must be earned by Belgium.*"

And the ignoble pacifists of the United States are at this moment agitating to prevent any export of arms and munitions to be used in redeeming the country

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

which is suffering such hideous oppression ! There was a period when Americans were proud of standing for Kossuth and for Garibaldi, when they subscribed for those who had suffered from wrong in Ireland or Poland, when they sympathized with patriots wrongfully oppressed in any land. The Americans of a bygone generation who possessed such sympathies should turn in their graves at the thought that alleged believers in peace now advocate action in the interest of these oppressors who have trampled on the bodies and seared the souls of the men, women, and children of peaceful and unoffending Belgium.

If no duty had been expressly imposed upon the United States in this matter, we ought nevertheless to have acted in accordance with the generous instincts of humanity. But as a matter of fact such a duty was expressly imposed upon us by The Hague conventions. The convention, signed at The Hague October 18th, 1907,* begins by saying that "His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia," and the other signatory powers, including France, Belgium, Russia, and the United States, have resolved to conclude a convention laying down clearly the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of war on land. Article 1 runs: "The territory of neutral powers is inviolable." Article 5 states that a neutral power "must not allow belligerents to move troops across its territory." Article 10 states that "the fact of a neutral power resisting even by force attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as

* See pp. 133-140 of "The Hague Conventions and Declarations" [1915], edited by James Brown Scott. Dr. Scott is our foremost international lawyer. He is the head of the division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has practically proved that he is a believer in the peace of righteousness; for he was an enlisted man in the American army in the Spanish War, having left his position as dean of the Los Angeles Law School, now the Law School of the University of Southern California, in order to serve his country.—T. R.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

a hostile act." Article 7 states that "a neutral power is not called upon to prevent the export or transport on behalf of one or other of the belligerents of arms, munitions of war or in general of anything which could be of use to an army or a fleet." This convention was ratified by Belgium on August 8th, 1910; by France on October 7th, 1910; by Germany, the United States, and Russia on November 27th, 1909. It has been alleged by individuals anxious to excuse us for failure to act in accordance with our duty under this convention that Article 20 recites: "The provisions of the present convention do not apply except between contracting powers and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention." In the first place this objection would be merely technical, even if in some other area of the war a belligerent who was not a party to the convention was concerned; for of course the convention must be construed with common sense. But even if it is construed in the most technical manner, it applies to the action taken by Germany in Belgium. This action was taken on August 3d and 4th, 1914. Germany was then at war only with France and Russia, both of which were signatories to this convention. Belgium was a signatory. The United States was a signatory. Germany was not at war at that time with Servia or Montenegro or England; nor was Austria at war with Belgium. When Germany violated The Hague convention to which we were one of the signatory powers all of the belligerents in the case were signers of The Hague convention. The case is technically no less than morally complete.

A treaty is a promise. The signing powers make promises each to the others and each to each of the others in such a case as this. Germany had promised

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

France, Belgium, the United States, and Russia that it would treat the territory of a neutral power (in this case Belgium) as inviolable. Germany violated this promise. Belgium had promised Germany, the United States, France, and Russia that it would not permit such violation of its neutrality as Germany committed. Belgium kept its promise. Germany had promised that if a neutral power (Belgium) resisted by force such an attempt as it, Germany, made to violate its neutrality, Germany would not regard such an act as hostile. Germany broke this promise. When Germany thus broke her promises, we broke our promise by failing at once to call her to account. The treaty was a joint and several guaranty, and it was the duty of every signer to take action when it was violated; above all it was the duty of the most powerful neutral, the United States.

Germany promised that she would not call upon any neutral power to prevent the export or transport of arms or munitions of war on behalf of any belligerent. Germany broke this promise when she made precisely such a demand upon us. This was a flagrant act of bad faith on the part of Germany. It is especially flagrant in view of the fact, testified to me by one of the representatives at The Hague conferences, and well known to all connected with The Hague conferences, that this article was insisted upon by Germany. Mr. Charles Noble Gregory, the chairman of the Standing Committee on international law of the American Bar Association, in a capital piece setting forth the right of our citizens to sell munitions of war to any belligerent power, mentions the same fact. He states that one of our Hague representatives told him that the chief interest of the German delegates seemed to be in securing this article, because the Krupp works at Essen

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

were the chief purveyors of munitions of war to foreign powers.

A representative of a great American arms manufactory informed me recently that they had been about to abandon their work prior to the beginning of this war, because the Germans systematically endeavored to undersell them in every country. It has been the settled policy of Germany to drive all other countries out of the business of manufacturing arms and supplies because, of course, if this were once substantially accomplished, the rest of the world would be completely helpless before Germany; and Germany has made it evident that she knows no such thing as international morality and looks upon all other nations, including the United States, merely as possible prey. The Americans who are now striving to prevent the sale of munitions of war to the countries endeavoring to secure the redress of Belgium's wrongs, that is, the Allied Powers, are playing the game of a ruthlessly militaristic and anti-American Germany against their own country as well as against the interests of humanity at large. They are profoundly unpatriotic from the standpoint of the interests of the United States. They are committing the gravest possible offense against the cause of international right and of the interest of humanity.

It was Germany which for decades supplied Turkey with the means of keeping the Christians of her European and Asiatic provinces in a state of dreadful subjection. It was Germany which established the artillery in the Belgian forts—and, as one of the men engaged in the work informed a friend of mine, the German War Office was then furnished with blue-prints of what had been done and of the neighboring geography, so as to enable the German armies to take the forts with the

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

least possible delay and damage. Essen has been the centre of military supplies to belligerents and has exported on an enormous scale to belligerents in all the modern wars, making vast profits from this traffic even in the late Balkan wars. Germany has consistently followed this course, even when one of the belligerents alone had access to her markets and the other, with which she was nominally in sympathy, had no such access. This was shown in the Boer War. Among the supplies furnished by Germany to Great Britain for use against the Boers were one hundred and eight fifteen-pounder quick-firing guns and fifty-four thousand rounds of ammunition for them; sixty-five thousand hundredweight of swords, cutlasses, bayonets, and arms of other sorts; eight million rounds of small-arms' ammunition and one million five hundred of metal cartridge cases other than small-arms' ammunition; and some twenty-seven thousand hundredweight of cordite, gunpowder, dynamite, and the like. In short, Germany has thriven enormously on the sale of arms to belligerents when she was a neutral; she insisted that such sale be sanctioned by The Hague conventions; she, so far as possible, desires to prevent other nations from manufacturing arms; and if she is successful in this effort she will have taken another stride to world dominion. The professional pacifists, hyphenated Americans, and beef and cotton Americans; in short, all the representatives of American mollicoddleism, American greed, and downright treachery to America, in seeking to prevent shipments of munitions to the Allies, are playing the game of a brutal militarism against Belgium and against their own country.

Of course, if sales of munitions are improper in time of war, they are precisely as improper in time of peace,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

for in time of peace they are made only with a view to possible war. To prohibit them is to put a premium upon aggressive nations manufacturing their own ammunition, for it is the non-aggressive nations that do not conduct great manufactories for munitions of war. On November 13, 1870, Goldwin Smith, who was in ardent sympathy with the Germans in their contest with France of that year, wrote to his friend, Max Müller, upholding the propriety of the action of the United States in selling munitions of war to France, the right to do which had been insisted upon by President Grant. He stated that the Americans were acting in accordance with the right view of international law in refusing to prohibit such sales of arms. His letter runs in part: "If this were done, a great disadvantage would be given against the interests of civilization to the powers which during peace employed their revenues in arming themselves for war instead of endowing professors. A moral and civilized people which had been benefiting humanity would be assailed by some French Empire which had been collecting chassepots, and when it wants to provide itself with the means of defense international law would shut up the gunshops."

In our existing treaties with Germany the right to such shipment of arms is explicitly affirmed, as it has also been in The Hague convention from which I have above quoted. The American Government has always maintained the right of its citizens to ship arms to belligerents. President Washington, through his secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, and his secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, took this position when France protested against the sale of arms to England in 1793, the answer being that "the exporting from the United States of warlike instruments and military

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

stores is not to be interfered with." President Lincoln, through his secretary of state, William H. Seward, took this view in 1862, when Mexico complained of the export of military supplies from the United States for the benefit of the French. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward sympathized with Mexico but explicitly informed Mexico that Mexico could not "prescribe to us what merchandise we shall not sell to French subjects because it may be employed in military operations against Mexico." President Grant and Secretaries of State Henry Clay, Bayard, Blaine, Olney, and John Hay are among the high officials who have publicly taken the same position.

At this time to alter such a rule during the pendency of a state of war to the benefit of one of the warlike powers would be to place the United States on the side of that power—of the wrong-doing power—and to make it in effect itself a belligerent. The position was correctly stated on January 25, 1915, by President Wilson through Secretary of State Bryan in a published letter which recites that "the duty of a neutral to restrict trade in munitions of war has never been imposed by international law or by municipal statute. It has never been the policy of this government to prevent the shipment of arms or ammunition into belligerent territory"; and in response to the German protest it was stated that our right to export munitions of war to belligerents was settled and assured and it was declared that our government holds "that any change in its own laws of neutrality during the progress of a war which would affect unequally the relations of the United States with the nations at war would be an unjustifiable departure from the principles of strict neutrality by which it has sought to direct its actions."

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

A great expert on international law has said "that a system under which a peaceful commercial state may not, when attacked, use her cash and her credits in international markets to equip herself for defense is intolerable and in every way pernicious. Rules which interfere with such a right would tend to give the victory in war to the belligerent best prepared at the outset and therefore to make it necessary for peaceful nations to be in a constant state of overpreparedness." Under the German proposal a well-behaved state which was not armed to the teeth could not, if wantonly attacked, be allowed to equip herself for defense. The American professional pacifists, in accepting the German position in this matter, are, as usual, playing into the hands of the powers that believe in unprincipled aggression. The United States, if suddenly assailed by some great military power, would suffer incalculably from the application of the doctrine thus advanced by our silly professional pacifists.

The warlike and aggressive nation chooses the moment of attack and is fully equipped in advance. If the nation assailed cannot replenish her supplies from outside, she must always maintain them in time of peace at the highest point or else expose herself to ruin. The professional pacifists, the cotton Americans, the beef barons, and the German-Americans—in other words, the hyphenated Americans, the greedy materialists, and all the mollicoddles of both sexes—advocate the prohibition of the shipment of munitions to the Allies who are engaged in fighting Belgium's battles. They thereby take a stand which, not merely in the concrete case of the moment but in all future cases, would immensely benefit powerful and aggressive nations which cynically disregard the rules of international morality at the ex-

HYPHENATED AMERICANISM

pense of the peaceful and industrial nations which have no thought of aggression and which act toward their neighbors with honorable good faith.

From the standpoint of international law, as I have shown above, we have the absolute right to make such shipments. Washington and Lincoln, in fact all our Presidents and secretaries have peremptorily refused to allow this right to be questioned. The right has been insisted upon by Germany in her own interest, more strongly than by any other nation, up to the beginning of the present war. It has been exercised by Germany herself on a larger scale than by any other nation up to the time that she herself went to war.

From the standpoint of morality the justification is even more clear. Selling arms to a belligerent may be morally either very right or very wrong. This depends absolutely upon the justice of the cause in which the arms are to be used. This is as true in international as in private matters. It is moral and commendable to sell arms to a policeman in order that he may put down black-handers, white-slavers, burglars, highwaymen, and other criminals who commit acts of violence. It is immoral to sell arms to those who are committing or intend to commit such acts of violence. In the same way it is thoroughly immoral in any way to help Germany win a triumph which would result in making the subjugation of Belgium perpetual. It is highly moral, it is from every standpoint commendable, to sell arms which shall be used in endeavoring to secure the freedom of Belgium and to create a condition of things which will make it impossible that such a crime against humanity as its subjugation by Germany shall ever be repeated, whether by Germany or by any other power.

VI

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR

IN the 33d chapter of the great prophet Ezekiel, the first six verses run as follows:

1. Again the word of the Lord came unto me, saying:

2. Son of man, speak to the children of thy people and say unto them, When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts and set him for the watchman;

3. If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet and warn the people;

4. Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning, if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head;

5. He heard the sound of the trumpet and took not warning, his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

6. But if the watchman see the sword come and blow not the trumpet and the people be not warned; if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

I very heartily commend these verses to the prayerful consideration of all those in high political office, whether Presidents, secretaries of state, or leaders of the Senate and the House at Washington; and to all male and female college presidents, clergymen, editors, and publicists of pacifist tendency; and above all to the

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

sometimes-well-meaning souls who have fallen victims to the habit of prolonged and excessive indulgence in attending universal peace meetings and giving, and listening to, lectures on immediate universal peace and disarmament.

Five years have gone by since Mexico, which had made no preparedness whatever against foreign war, was thrown into a violent civil war, attended with circumstances which made it our duty to take action, a duty which during the five years we, in our turn, have sedulously avoided fulfilling in efficient fashion. Eighteen months have passed since the great World War that centres in Europe burst out with, as its first result, the hideous destruction of the Belgian people—a destruction primarily due to the fact that Belgium had not prepared against war as Switzerland had prepared. The United States, in connection with The Hague treaties, had undertaken certain obligations to Belgium and to both neutral and belligerent powers. With criminal timidity we have failed to fulfil these obligations. We have also failed to stand up for the rights of our own people in any efficient fashion, even when our men, women, and children were murdered on the high seas. We have earned, and have richly deserved, the contemptuous dislike of all the nations of mankind by the course we have followed for a year as regards the great World War, and for five years as regards Mexico. Worst of all, we have utterly failed, even with the lesson of the last year writ in blood and fire before our eyes, to take steps to protect ourselves from such horrors.

It is we ourselves, it is the American people, who are responsible for the public sentiment which permits unworthy action on the part of our governmental representatives. The peace propaganda of the past ten years

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

in this country has steadily grown more noisy. It received an enormous impetus when five years ago, by the negotiation of peace-at-any-price or all-inclusive arbitration treaties, and in the last year by the ratification of the thirty-odd peace-at-any-price arbitration-commission treaties, it was made part of our national governmental policy. It is the literal truth to say that this peace-at-any-price propaganda has probably, on the whole, worked more mischief to the United States than all the crookedness in business and politics combined during the same period. It has represented more positive deterioration in the American character. Millions of plain Americans, who do not have the opportunity to know the facts or to think them out for themselves, have been misled in this matter. They are not to blame; but the leaders and organizers of that movement, its upholders and apologists on the stump and in the pulpit and in the press, are very greatly to blame. Really good and high-minded clergymen, capable of foresight and brave enough to risk being misrepresented, have stood steadfastly against the odious creed which puts peace ahead of righteousness. But every cheap man in the pulpit, like every cheap demagogue on the stump, has joined in the "peace-at-any-price" cry.

Some of the men and women who uphold the cause of the professional pacifists are actuated by good motives. The same statement can be made of some of the Tories in the Revolutionary War, of some of the Copperheads in the Civil War. But the fact remains in this case, as in the case of the Copperheads and the Tories, that the sum of the activities of the men and women thus engaged was purely mischievous and represented evil to America and evil to the cause of international justice and right. Wilkes Booth was an honest man;

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

when he assassinated Lincoln he was doubtless sincere in the belief that he was doing right; and great courage was needed to perform the evil feat. Yet surely Wilkes Booth did a worse deed than the most corrupt politician or business man of his time. In exactly the same way the man who preaches peace at any price, non-resistance to all wrong, disarmament and the submission of everything to arbitration, no matter how sincere and honest he may be, is rendering a worse service to his fellow countrymen than any exponent of crooked business or crooked politics.

The deification of peace without regard to whether it is either wise or righteous does not represent virtue. It represents a peculiarly base and ignoble form of evil. For this reason it is a positive detriment to international morality for any man to take part in any of these universal peace-at-any-price or all-inclusive arbitration movements. Nor is this all. A movement right in itself may be all wrong if made at the wrong time. Even the proposal for a world peace of righteousness, based on force being put back of righteousness, is inopportune at this time.

There are far more pressing and immediate duties. First and foremost, the United States must seriously prepare itself against war, and show itself able to maintain its rights and make its weight felt in the world. Next, it must abandon both the policy of poltroonery—the policy we have practised as regards the *Lusitania* and Mexico—and the policy of recklessly making promises which neither can nor ought to be kept—the policy we practised in the proposed all-inclusive arbitration treaties five years ago, and, above all, in the unspeakably silly and wicked thirty all-inclusive arbitration-commission treaties actually negotiated under the pres-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

ent Administration. Our people should note well the fact that these treaties were in principle promptly repudiated by the very President who had negotiated them as soon as Mr. Bryan asked that the principle be concretely applied in the case of the *Lusitania*.

When we are prepared to make our words good and have shown that we make no promises which we are not both ready and willing to back up by our deeds, then, and not until then, we shall be able with dignity and effect to move for the establishment of a world agreement to secure the peace of justice. Such agreement must explicitly state that certain national rights are never to be arbitrated because the nations are to be protected in their exercise; that other matters shall be arbitrated; and that the power of all the nations shall be used to prevent wrong being done by one nation at the expense of another. To put peace above righteousness is wicked. To chatter about it, without making ready to put strength behind it, is silly.

But all this is for the future, and it is beating the air to talk about it at present. "Ephraim feedeth on wind"—and wind is not a substantial diet. A nation which is "too proud to fight" is a nation which is sure to be kicked; for every fighting man or nation knows that that particular kind of "pride" is merely another name for abject cowardice. A nation helplessly unable to assert its own rights; a nation which for five years has refused to do its duty in Mexico and yet is unwilling to see other nations do their duty there; a nation which without the utterance of one word of protest has seen The Hague conventions which it signed torn to pieces and thrown to the winds; a nation which has not ventured beyond empty words when its ships were sunk and its citizens, men, women, and children, slain on the

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

high seas, is in no position to help the cause of either peace or justice, and would excite merely derision if it proposed at this moment the creation of a "World League for Peace."

The six great powers of Europe have sent their best and their bravest by the million to die for the right as God gave them to see the right. All their finest young men are at the front. Some of them are fighting for good, some for evil; but all are fighting for what they think to be good, and all are showing splendid and heroic qualities. We excite only derision when under these circumstances we permit foolish people, men and women, in the name of America to prattle in meaningless words about the kind of peace that brave men and high-minded women will always scorn. The all-insistent duty of the moment for America is twofold. First, we must prepare ourselves against disaster by facing the fact that we are nearly impotent in military matters, and by remedying this impotence. Second, we must seriously and in good faith, and once for all, abandon the wicked and foolish habit of treating words as all-sufficient by themselves, and as wholly irrelevant to deeds; and as an incident thereto we must from now on refuse to make treaties which cannot be, and which will not be, lived up to in time of strain.

As regards the last matter, promise and performance, we Americans must rid ourselves of the habit of salving our vanity, when down at bottom we know we are not behaving well, by using fine words to excuse ourselves from effort which ought to be made, and to justify ourselves in avoiding risk which ought to be accepted.

There are persons who are against preparedness for war and who believe in the avoidance of national duty, who nevertheless are honest in their belief and who may

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

not be cowardly or weak, but only foolish and misguided; and there are hundreds of thousands of good and reasonably brave men and women who simply have not thought of the matter at all and who are misguided by their leaders. But of most of these leaders it is not possible to take so charitable a view. The fundamental characteristic of the peace-at-any-price men is sheer, downright physical or moral timidity. Very many of the leaders among the men who protest against preparedness and who are hostile to manly action on our part—hostile to the insistence in good faith upon the observance of The Hague conventions and upon respect for the lives and property of our citizens in Mexico and on the high seas—are easily cowed by any exhibition of ruthless and brutal force, and never venture to condemn wrong-doers who make themselves feared. This fact might just as well be faced. To it is due the further fact that the professional pacifist usually turns up as the ally of the most cynical type of international wrong-doer.

This has been made evident by the attitude of the great bulk of the men and women who have shrieked loudest for peace during the last eighteen months. It has been made evident by the men who have joined in the Peace Conferences, Peace Dinners, and Peace Voyages during that time, and by the women of the same type who on this side of the water, or after travelling to the other side of the water, have advocated a peace without honor or justice. These men and women have demanded peace in terms that would not merely disregard righteousness, but that would crown unrighteousness with success. They have not ventured to make one protest against any concrete act of wrong-doing; they have not ventured to raise their voices in denun-

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

ciation of the iniquity wrought by Germany against Belgium, the most wanton, the most hideous wrong, and the wrong on the largest scale, that had been perpetrated for over a century. Some of the women in question were abroad, actively engaged in exciting contempt and derision for themselves and their country by crying for peace without justice and without redress of wrongs, at the very time that the *Lusitania* was sunk.

American women and children were at the time being slain on the high seas; Belgian women and children, French women and children, in Belgium and northern France, were at the same time suffering the last extremities of infamy and outrage; English women and children, in unfortified towns, were being killed by the bombs of German war-vessels and aircraft; and our own women in Mexico had been subjected to nameless infamies. But these amiable peace prattlers had not one word of effective sympathy for any of the women and children who had suffered these dreadful fates. All they did was to utter silly platitudes, which were of comfort to the wrong-doers, and which, in so far as they had any effect, confounded right and wrong and put a premium upon wrong-doing by making it evident that, if successful, it would escape condemnation; because the condemnation was so uttered as, if anything, to bear more heavily on those who resisted wrong than upon those who inflicted wrong. There is no meaner moral attitude than that of a timid and selfish neutrality between right and wrong.

Such action does not represent righteousness. At best it represents folly. Often it represents cowardice. Always it represents unrighteousness. Not the smallest particle of good has come from the peace propaganda of the last ten years as carried on in America. Literally,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

this agitation of the professional pacifists during these ten years has not represented the smallest advance toward securing the peace of righteousness. It has, on the other hand, represented a very considerable and real deterioration in the American character. I do not think it is a permanent deterioration. I think that we shall recover and become heartily ashamed of our lapse from virile manliness. But there has been a distinct degeneracy in the moral fibre of our people owing to this peace propaganda, a distinct increase in moral flabbiness, a distinct increase in hysteria and sentimental untruthfulness.

Not once in a thousand times is it possible to achieve anything worth achieving except by labor, by effort, by serious purpose, and by the willingness to run risk. The persons who seek to persuade our people that by doing nothing, by passing resolutions that cost nothing, and by writing eloquent messages and articles that mean nothing, and by complacently applauding elocution that means less than nothing, some service is thereby rendered to humanity, are not only rendering no such service, but are weakening the spring of national character. This applies to the publicists and politicians who write messages and articles and make speeches of this kind; it applies to the newspaper editors and magazine writers who applaud such utterances; and most of all it applies to those of our people who insist upon the passage of treaties that cannot and will not be enforced, while they also inveigh against preparedness, and shudder at action on behalf of our own rights.

Let no man propose a treaty unless he has reduced it to concrete terms; has proposed it in these concrete terms to his fellows, and has determined whether, when thus made concrete, it ought to be and will be observed.

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

Take a few illustrative cases. The ultrapacifist movement, the peace-at-any-price movement, has seemingly been as strong on the Pacific slope as on the Atlantic seaboard and in the interior. Congressmen and editors have made speeches and written articles in which they have advocated disarmament, and have demanded treaties by which the United States would agree to arbitrate everything. Worthy people, silly people, have encouraged schoolboys solemnly to debate such questions.

Now let these congressmen and editors face facts and be frank and truthful. When they applaud the passage of the thirty all-inclusive arbitration-commission treaties that the Administration has passed during the last year or so, do they mean that they wish, if the Japanese take Magdalena Bay or the Germans St. Thomas, to discuss the matter through a commission for a year without taking any action? Do they mean that when American women are raped in Mexico or American men murdered in our own territory by Mexicans firing across the line, or when the American flag is insulted and dishonored, we shall appoint a commission to discuss the matter for a year before taking action? Do they mean that if a French or English submarine sinks a ship crowded with non-combatants, as the Germans sank the *Lusitania*, and if American women and children are again drowned wholesale on the high seas, we shall appoint a commission to talk about it for a year and bind ourselves to take no action prior to that time?

If they do mean these things, if our people mean these things, then let them honestly say so. From my standpoint such action would be inconceivably base and cowardly. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to accept the mental integrity of the man taking it, if he announces from the beginning that such is his intention.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

But it is absolutely and grossly improper to take it unless the concrete case to which the general principle is to apply is thus set nakedly forth at the outset and we agree to abide by action in such concrete case.

Again, there are Pacific slope editors and public men who have excitedly applauded that phase of the peace-at-any-price propaganda in accordance with which it is proposed that we shall bind ourselves to arbitrate all questions, including those of national honor and vital national interest. The movement has been strong even in California. Now, do these public men and editors who champion this form of peace movement in California, Oregon, and Washington mean that we shall in good faith submit to outsiders for arbitration the question whether or not there shall be an unlimited immigration of Asiatics to our shores? Do they mean that a court containing judges from Japan, Siam, China, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, as well as from the European powers, shall say whether or not we have a right to decide what immigrants shall come to our shores and here establish citizenship?

The Californian who does not believe in arbitrating the question whether there shall be such unlimited immigration of Asiatics to California is guilty of the grossest bad faith when he champions or fails to condemn such proposals, when he votes for or approves of the thirty-odd peace-commission treaties recently passed by the present Administration and the all-inclusive arbitration treaties proposed by the preceding Administration. I hold that to arbitrate the question whether we should or should not allow the unlimited immigration of Asiatics to our shores would be a dreadful wrong. It is an almost equally serious wrong to conclude a treaty

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

specifically binding us to accept such arbitration, and then to repudiate the treaty.

All this applies to the movement for inaugurating at this time a "World League for Peace," of which the decrees are to be backed by force. Before we make such a league for the future, let us in the present live up to our engagements under The Hague conventions and without delay protest on behalf of Belgium. If we are not willing to undergo the modest risk implied in thus keeping the promise we have already made, then for heaven's sake let us avoid the hypocrisy of proposing a new world league, under which we would guarantee to send armies over to coerce great military powers which decline to abide by the decisions of an arbitral court. Above all, let us avoid the infinite folly, the discreditable folly, of agitating for such an agreement until we have a naval and military force sufficient to entitle us to speak with the voice of authority when fronted with great military nations in international matters. Let us not live in a realm of childish make-believe. Let us not make new and large promises in a spirit of grandiloquent and elocutionary disregard of facts unless and until we are willing by deeds to make good the promises we have already made but have refrained from executing; until we are willing to demand of our government that it live up to The Hague conventions, and, above all, that it defend our own rights.

Now, the fact that these male and female professional peace enthusiasts who have screamed so busily for peace during the past year have been afraid to make any concrete protest against wrong is doubtless due primarily to sheer fear on their part. They were afraid of the trouble and effort implied in acting about Mexico. Above all, they are afraid of Germany. Those of them

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

who are politicians are afraid of the German-American vote; for these professional pacifists have no sense of national honor and are great encouragers of hyphenated Americanism. But in addition they are terrorized, they are cowed, by the ruthless spirit of German militarism. The Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger* spoke as follows after the sinking of the *Lusitania*:

"We do not wish to gain the love of the Americans, but we desire to be respected by them. The loss of the *Lusitania* will earn that respect for us more than a hundred battles won on land."

Of course, when the *Lokal Anzeiger* spoke of inspiring "respect" in America, what it really meant was that it would inspire fear. The murder of women and children does not inspire respect; but, unfortunately, it may inspire fear. As a matter of fact, I think it did inspire fear among our pacifists. There are plenty of Americans like myself who immensely admire the efficiency of the Germans in industry and in war, the efficiency with which in this war they have subordinated the whole social and industrial activity of the state to the successful prosecution of the war, and who greatly admire the German people, and regard the German strain as one of the best and strongest strains in our composite American blood; but who feel that the German Government, the German governing class has in this war shown such ruthless and domineering disregard for the rights of others as to demand emphatic and resolute action (not merely words unbacked by action) on our part. Unfortunately, this ruthless and brutal efficiency has, as regards many men of the pacifist type, achieved precisely the purpose it was intended to achieve.

As part of her programme, Germany has counted on the effect of terrorism upon all men of soft nature. The

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

sinking of the *Lusitania* was intended primarily as terrorism; just as the use of poison-gas in the trenches (a use defensible only if one also defends the poisoning of wells and the torture of prisoners) was intended as terrorism. The object—terrorization—has not been achieved as regards the fighting men of England, France, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Servia. But it has had a distinct effect in cowing timid persons everywhere. I do not believe it would have any effect in cowing the bulk of our people if our people could be waked up to what has happened; but I have no question that it has had a very great effect in cowing that noisy section of our people which has talked loudest about peace at any price. The people who say of the present Administration that “at any rate, it has kept us out of war with Mexico or Germany”; the people who say that we ought not to act about the *Lusitania*; the people who say we ought not to have acted on behalf of Belgium, include in their ranks all of the persons who are cowed by Germany, who are afraid of what Germany would do if we stood up for our own rights or for the rights of other and weaker peoples. Recently, in certain circles, some popularity has been achieved by a song entitled “I Didn’t Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier”—a song which ought always to be sung with a companion piece entitled “I Didn’t Raise My Girl To Be a Mother.” The two would stand on precisely the same moral level. This hymn, in condemnation of courage, has been sung in music-halls, and even in schools, with applause. Think of such a song being sung by or of the mothers, sisters, and wives of the men who fought under Washington in the Revolution, or of the men who fought under Grant and Lee in the Civil War! Those who applaud such a song are wholly out of place at any patri-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

otic celebration on Decoration Day or the Fourth of July; and most assuredly men of this abject type will be easily affected by terrorism.

The sinking of the *Lusitania*, the destruction of Louvain, the shooting of the Belgians who rallied to the defense of their flag precisely as the men of Lexington and Bunker Hill once rallied to the defense of theirs, the merciless thoroughness of the exploitation of the civilian population of northern France and Belgium, the utter ruthlessness shown in dealing not only with men but with women and children—all this has undoubtedly cowed and terrorized the average American pacifist, the average peace-at-any-price man in the United States. It has cowed the type of man who cheers such a song as "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier." It has terrorized the type of man who makes speeches and writes editorials or newspaper or magazine articles on behalf of disarmament, on behalf of universal arbitration, and against the Monroe Doctrine. There is a Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in nations as in individuals; and sheer terrorism is often found working hand in hand with flabby and timid international pacifism for the undoing of righteousness and for the deification of the most brutal form of successful militarism.

Mrs. Wharton has sent me the following German poem on the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with her translation:

THE HYMN OF THE "LUSITANIA"

(Translated from the German) *

The swift sea sucks her death-shriek under
As the great ship reels and leaps asunder.
Crammed taffrail-high with her murderous freight,
Like a straw on the tide she whirls to her fate.

* Poem reprinted by courtesy of N. Y. *Herald*.

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

A war-ship she, though she lacked its coat,
And lustful for lives as none afloat,
A war-ship, and one of the foe's best workers,
Not penned with her rusting harbor-shirkers.

Now the Flanders guns lack their daily bread,
And shipper and buyer are sick with dread,
For neutral as Uncle Sam may be
Your surest neutral's the deep green sea.

Just one ship sunk, with lives and shell,
And thousands of German gray-coats well!
And for each of her gray-coats, German hate
Would have sunk ten ships with all their freight.

Yea, ten such ships are a paltry fine
For one good life in our fighting line.
Let England ponder the crimson text:

TORPEDO, STRIKE! AND HURRAH FOR THE NEXT!

This is not a pleasant poem. I do not envy the person who could write with this exultation of the death of women and children. It is a manifestation of the policy of blood-and-iron which should be pondered carefully by those who, with voices of quivering timidity, are advocating our submission to such policies. Be it remembered, moreover, that bad though it is to do such a deed, it is even more contemptible to submit to it. The policy of milk-and-water is an even worse policy than the policy of blood-and-iron. To sink a hundred American men, women, and children on the *Lusitania*, in other words, to murder them, was an evil thing; but it was not quite as evil and it was nothing like as contemptible as it was for this nation to rest satisfied with governmental notes of protest couched in elegant English, and with vaguely implied threats which were not carried out. When a man has warned another man not to slap his wife's face, and the other man does it, the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

gentleman who has given the warning does not meet the situation by treating elocution as a substitute for action.

Mr. Bryan resigns the foremost position in the American Cabinet and immediately addresses a large meeting of Germans, where he was very properly received with uproarious applause as a faithful servant of the present German Government, as a man who, however amiable his intentions, had in actual fact stood against the honor and interest of America. Now, if Mr. Bryan were a German, the German Government would not for one moment permit him to make the kind of address against Germany that the Germans applauded him for making against his own country and ours. The success of the German policy of blood-and-iron largely depends upon their possible rivals and opponents adopting a policy of milk-and-water. The blood-and-iron statesman of one nation finds in the milk-and-water statesman of another nation the man predestined through the ages to be his ally and his tool.

A number of persons, including especially the ultra-pacifists, have strongly objected to the statement that this country should have acted on behalf of Belgium, and have done this on the ground that we have declared as a nation that we did not intend to be drawn into "entangling alliances" in Europe. Yet the same persons now advocate our going into a league to enforce the results of universal arbitration, which, of course, represents the "entangling" of ourselves in a foreign alliance on the largest possible scale. It also represents an agreement on our part to wage offensive war on behalf of others, although many of the persons favoring such an agreement are opposed to the very moderate policy of making us fit to protect our own rights in de-

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

fensive war. It is idle to make promises on behalf of a movement for world peace unless we intend to live up to them. If so, the first step is to live up to the promises we have already made, and not to try to sneak out of them on the ground that to fulfil them means to abandon our "policy of refusal to be entangled in foreign alliances."

This attitude of the ultrapacifists is merely another illustration of the necessity of subordinating elocution in advocacy of universal world peace to action (not merely elocution) to meet more immediate and vital needs. It is utterly useless to advocate our entering into such a proposed league until we have prepared in military fashion to make our action effective and until we have seriously resolved to live up to our promises—and, as a consequence, to make but few promises. Therefore, at this moment all agitation for such a league merely offers an opportunity for the people who want to talk and to do nothing else. It gives them the chance to avoid the performance of immediate duty by empty elocution for something which is in the remote future and which cannot possibly be achieved until the immediate duty has been effectively performed. In my book, "America and the World War," I have outlined the only possibly feasible plan for securing world peace that has yet been propounded. But it is waste of time to advocate such a plan until we have adopted and put into effect a policy of national military preparedness, and until we take the trouble to find out what treaties—promises—mean, and to refuse to make them unless they are to be kept. To enter into the proposed "League of Peace" would mean that we promised, under certain conditions, to undertake offensive war on behalf of others. It would be ludicrous to make

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

such a promise until we have shown that we are willing to undertake defensive war on behalf of ourselves.

In 1814, a little over a century ago, in the course of the War of 1812, a small British army landed in Chesapeake Bay. It defeated twice its number of "free-born American citizens," without training and discipline, who "had leaped to arms," as Mr. Bryan says, or become "an armed citizenry," as Mr. Wilson puts it. It then burned the public buildings at Washington. The "armed citizenry"—upon whose potentiality President Wilson relied as an excuse for signal failure to make any preparation to do our duty by adequate preparation in view of the terrible World War now going on and of the situation in Mexico—fled with such unanimity and rapidity that only a score or so lost their lives. Thereupon the remainder, together with all the American editors and public men who for years had been screaming for peace and announcing that there was no need of preparing against war, instead of expressing their hearty shame and repentance for the national failure to prepare, became hysterical in attacking—with words only—the hostile army for having burned Washington. The British army a century ago was as profoundly indifferent to this attack as the war lords of Germany to-day are to our prattle about the *Lusitania* or the resolutions of our peace societies, and the boasts of our political orators on the Fourth of July. Such indifference was, and is, entirely justifiable. It was not a nice thing to burn the public buildings of Washington; but it was an infinitely worse thing for this country, after two years of war, to be utterly unable to protect its capital. It was not a nice thing to kill our women and children on the *Lusitania*; but it was an even meaner and more contemptible thing for us to fail to act with instant decision

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

thereon—and had we so acted in the case of the *Gulflight*, a few days previously, the *Lusitania* would never have been sunk.

Every right-minded man utterly despises a coward in private life. Cowardice is the unpardonable sin in a man. A corrupt man can be reformed. Many a corrupt man, both in politics and business, has been reformed within the past score of years, has realized the evils of corruption and is now a first-class citizen. In the same way a coward who appreciates that cowardice is a sin, an unpardonable sin if persevered in, may train himself so as, first to *act* like a brave man, and then finally to *feel* like and therefore to *be* a brave man. But the coward who excuses his cowardice, who tries to cloak it behind lofty words, who perseveres in it, and does not appreciate his own infamy, is beyond all hope. The peace-at-any-price people, the universal and all-inclusive arbitration people, and most of the men and women who have taken the lead in the pacifist movement in this country during the last five or ten years, are preaching international cowardice.

Sometimes these professional pacifists preach such cowardice openly. At other times they preach the utter flabbiness and feebleness, moral and physical, which inevitably breeds cowardice. It is a dreadful thing to think that in the event of war brave men would have to shed their blood; it is a worse thing to think that these feeble folk would purchase their own ignoble safety by the blood of others. The men and women guilty of such preaching and such practice are thoroughly bad citizens. The worst of them, of course, are those in the colleges, and those who profess to speak for the colleges; for to them much has been given and from them much should be expected. The college boys who adopt the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

professional pacifist views, who make peace leagues and preach the doctrines of international cowardice, are unfitting themselves for any career more manly than that of a nursemaid. A grown-up of the professional pacifist type is not an impressive figure; but the college boy who deliberately elects to be a "sissy" should be replaced in the nursery and spanked.

It is to be regretted that we do not learn history aright. Allusion has been made above to the War of 1812. Had Washington or men who carried out Washington's policy been in charge of our government during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, there would probably have been no war with Great Britain in 1812, or if there had been we would have been completely and overwhelmingly successful. But the great opponent of Washington's ideals, Thomas Jefferson, gave the tone to our governmental policies during that time. He announced that his "passion was peace"—not as strong an expression as "being too proud to fight," but sufficiently noxious. He and his followers declined to prepare a regular army and refused to upbuild the navy. The very Congress that declared war on Great Britain declined to increase our navy. Yet if at that time we had had an efficient navy of twenty battleships or an efficient mobile regular army of twenty thousand men, the war would not have taken place at all or else it would have ended in complete and sweeping victory the summer it was declared.

We trusted, however, to the "armed citizenry" of whom Mr. Wilson speaks and to the voluntary efforts of "the million men who spring to arms between dawn and sunset," described in Mr. Bryan's oratory. We trusted to the few frigates prepared by the men of Washington's school before the Jeffersonians came to power.

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

These frigates did their duty well and but for them it is possible that our country would have broken in pieces under the intolerable shame of our failure on land. Nevertheless, our small cruisers could produce only a moral and not a material effect upon the war. On land for two years we were unable to do anything effective at all. When the war had begun, it was too late to make efficient preparations; and in any event we did not try. We raised a body of over a hundred thousand militiamen under the volunteer system. These militiamen were gathered in camps where they sickened of various diseases; but we were never able to get them against the foe in any numbers, except on one or two occasions, such as at Bladensburg. Mind you, they were naturally good enough men. The individuals who ran at Bladensburg were the sons of the men of Yorktown, the fathers of the men of Gettysburg. What they needed was preparation by long training in advance; training in the field, not merely in an armory or on a drill-ground.

The same thing was true of our Civil War. In 1861 both of the contending armies at Bull Run could have been beaten with ease by a European army of regulars half the size of either. In 1863 there was not an army in Europe which could have contended on equal terms with either of the armies that fought at Gettysburg. In 1814, after two years of exertion, Brown, Scott, and a few other officers like them on the northern frontier, developed a tiny army as good as could be found anywhere, and Andrew Jackson, a real military genius, performed the same feat for the few thousand Tennesseans and Louisianians whom he commanded at New Orleans.

But the War of 1812 was not a victorious war for us. At best it is possible to call it a draw. It was a thoroughly discreditable war from the standpoint of our

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

people as a whole. The land officers I have named above, and a few thousand troops, not more than ten thousand all told, who served under them, did well. So did the officers and crews of our tiny navy and the shipwrights who built the ships. These men, and a very few others, deserved the highest credit. We of to-day owe them much. It is only because of their existence that Americans can think of the War of 1812 without unmixed shame. But the bulk of our people, and the politicians, from the President down, who represented our people, made a wretched showing in that war; and because of this showing the Union came very near splitting up. If history were rightly taught, this fact would be brought out clearly in our schools; and the pacifists, the peace-at-any-price men, the men who shirk preparedness and who chatter about the efficacy of salvation to be secured by diluted moral mush, would not have the clear field they now have.

Men cannot and will not fight well unless they are physically prepared; and they cannot and will not fight if, through the generations, they elaborately unfit themselves by weakening their own moral fibre. China furnishes the greatest example, and a living and contemporary example. Mr. Bryan recently announced that instead of war, which he regarded as outworn, he wished to try "persuasion." Evidently he was under the impression that persuasion was something new in the annals of history. Let Mr. Bryan and his fellow pacifists read history; and, if they won't read history, let them at least look at affairs that are contemporary. A sillier falsehood has never been uttered than the falsehood that "war settles nothing." War settled the independence of this country; war settled the question of union, and war settled the question of slavery. Paci-

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

fists pretend to speak in the interests of morality. It is a poor thing for professed moralists to rest their case on a falsehood, which they must know to be a falsehood. Many of the greatest events of history have been settled by war. Many of the greatest advances in humanity have been due to successful wars for righteousness.

Christianity is not the creed of Asia and Africa at this moment solely because the seventh-century Christians of Asia and Africa, in addition to being rent asunder among themselves by bitter sectarian animosities—and sectarian intolerance and animosity stand for most that is evil in Christianity—had trained themselves not to fight, whereas the Moslems were trained to fight. Christianity was saved in Europe solely because the peoples of Europe fought. If the peoples of Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries, and on up to and including the seventeenth century, had not possessed a military equality with, and gradually a growing superiority over, the Mohammedans who invaded Europe, Europe would at this moment be Mohammedan, and the Christian religion would be exterminated. Wherever the Mohammedans have had complete sway, wherever the Christians have been unable to resist them by the sword, Christianity has ultimately disappeared. From the hammer of Charles Martel to the sword of Sobieski, Christianity owed its safety in Europe to the fact that it was able to show that it could and would fight as well as the Mohammedan aggressor.

China is the great living example of unpreparedness, of pacifism, of the peace-at-any-price spirit, of the effort to preserve territory and national self-respect by “persuasion” and not by the sword. In consequence the English, the French, the Russians, the Japanese, control one-half of the territory of China, and the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

remaining territory, under the pressure of Japan, is at this moment losing all right to be considered an independent and self-respecting people. Well-meaning persons who treat peace pageants, peace parades, peace conferences, and minor movements of similar nature as of consequence, are guilty of an error which makes their conduct foolish. Those of them who champion the exaltation of peace above righteousness and the abandonment of national power of self-defense—without which there never has been and never will be either national heroism or national manliness—will do well to study China.

It is mere gong-beating, it is the mere sounding of tom-toms and rattles, for our people to get together in conference at the present time and declare for universal peace and announce that they wish a world league by which they will agree to arbitrate everything and enforce the result by arms. Of course in no event should we agree to arbitrate everything. But the prime point to be considered at the moment is that until we show that we possess force, that we are willing to use it when necessary, and that we make no promises save those that ought to be and will be carried out, we shall be utterly useless to do anything for righteousness, whether through these leagues or in any other fashion.

Every peace body, whether religious or humanitarian, philosophic or political, and all advocates of peace, whether in public or private life, work nothing but mischief, and, save in so far as mere silliness prevents it, very serious mischief, unless they put righteousness first and peace next. Every league that calls itself a Peace League is championing immorality unless it clearly and explicitly recognizes the duty of putting righteousness before peace and of being prepared and ready to enforce

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

righteousness by war if necessary; and it is idle to promise to wage offensive war on behalf of others until we have shown that we are able and willing to wage defensive war on behalf of ourselves. The man who fears death more than dishonor, more than failure to perform duty, is a poor citizen; and the nation that regards war as the worst of all evils and the avoidance of war as the highest good is a wretched and contemptible nation, and it is well that it should vanish from the face of the earth.

If our people really believed what the pacifists and the German-fearing politicians advocate, if they really feared war above anything else and really had sunk to the Chinese level—from which the best and bravest and most honorable Chinamen are now striving to lift their people—then it would be utterly hopeless to help the United States. In such case, the best thing that could befall it would be to have the Germans, or the Japanese, or some other people that still retains virility, come over here to rule and oppress a nation of feeble pacifists, unfit to be anything but hewers of wood and drawers of water for their masters.

But I do not for one moment admit that the American people has sunk or will sink to such a level. We are foolish and short-sighted and we permit the prattlers to misrepresent us. But at bottom the heart of this people is sound. We celebrate Decoration Day and Independence Day on the 30th of May and the 4th of July. We believe in the men of the Revolution, in the men of the Civil War, and in the women who did "raise their sons to be soldiers" for the right. We know that in itself war is neither moral nor immoral, that the test of the righteousness of war is the object and purpose for which it is waged. Therefore, it is worth while for our

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

people seriously to consider the problems ahead of them; and the first problem is the problem of preparedness.

The prime and all-important lesson to learn is that while preparedness will not guarantee a nation against war, unpreparedness eventually insures not merely war, but utter disaster. Take what has happened in the last twelve months at home and abroad. Preparedness has saved France from the unspeakable shame that befell it in 1870. Every Frenchman holds his head higher now than any Frenchman has held it in forty-five years. England suffers because she has not prepared. If her army had been prepared as Lord Roberts wished it to be prepared, if she had had universal military service on the German model, if she had copied the admirable German efficiency, military, industrial, and social (and had then, unlike Germany, applied it with regard for, instead of with disregard for, the rights of others), she would have been able to rescue Belgium and France from invasion and her own position would now be absolutely assured. She was well prepared from a naval point of view and so was able to protect herself on the ocean. But, when she guaranteed Belgium's neutrality, she abandoned her sea frontier and pushed her land frontier forward to the German border beyond Liège. She failed to realize this fact—just as we have failed to realize that our own moral frontier is not our own seaboard, but is overseas, in Alaska and Hawaii and the Panama Canal Zone.

But Belgium, when compared with Switzerland, offers the most complete example. In many respects Belgium a year ago stood strikingly near to where the United States stands to-day. She had not been quite as short-sighted as we have shown and are now showing ourselves to be; but she had been very short-sighted. She was an

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

absolutely peaceful and exceedingly prosperous country. She had a great industrial population. For many years the wiser among her people, including especially, by the way, the wisest representatives of the labor element, the Socialists and others, had preached preparedness, so that the country might be saved from invasion by its great military neighbors. But her international policy was determined by the pacifists and peace-at-any-price men, the men and women who said that it was "immoral to fight" and that "war settled nothing," and the other men and women who said that nobody would ever attack Belgium because she was peaceful, and never committed aggression, and that all that was necessary to national well-being was business prosperity, and attention to measures of internal reform. These persons were successful in preventing any adequate preparation. Only a very inadequate one had been attempted and that only during the last year or two. This inadequate preparation was directly responsible for disaster so overwhelming as to wipe out what had been built up by generations of patient industry.

Switzerland meanwhile, the most peaceful country in Europe, had energetically taken full measures for her self-defense. Switzerland had an army of four hundred thousand men, highly efficient. Belgium, according to her population, on the same basis would have had an army of seven hundred thousand men. If she had had such an army and had acted precisely as Switzerland acted, Belgian territory would now be in Belgian hands and the line of western war in Europe, representing what has been for fourteen months a stalemate, would have left Belgium on the right instead of on the wrong side; and she would have been free instead of trodden down and wasted under an appalling tyranny. No one

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

acquainted with recent German military history, and with German military plans for the past twenty years, doubts for a moment that the German invasion would have taken place as quickly through Switzerland as through Belgium if it had been safe. But Belgium's army was only about one-sixth the size of the Swiss army. The small Belgian army fought valiantly; the conduct of the Belgian people during the last eleven months has been above all praise; and they have rendered mankind their debtor by their heroism. But the heroism came too late to be of avail. It was too late to prepare, or to make good the lack of preparedness, when once the Germans crossed the border. Switzerland had prepared in advance and Switzerland is at peace now, while the soil of Belgium has been trodden into bloody mire. The physical nature of the two countries has nothing to do with the difference. A century ago, Napoleon's armies treated Switzerland as cavalierly as Germany to-day treats Belgium; and for the same reason; because Switzerland was then utterly unprepared.

Let our people take warning. Look at what has happened in Asia at the same time. Japan was prepared; Japan was ready to fight. With trivial loss she has made enormous gains and now dominates China. China was not ready to fight; she had not prepared. In natural resources, in territory, in population, she many times oversurpassed Japan; but she had committed the cardinal sin of neglecting to prepare; and she now is at Japan's mercy and her very existence is a matter of doubt.

The most certain way for a nation to invite disaster is to be opulent, self-assertive, and unarmed. A nation can no more prepare for self-defense when war actually

PEACE INSURANCE BY PREPAREDNESS

threatens than a spoiled college "sissy" of the pacifist type can defend himself if a young tough chooses to insult him; and unlike the sissy, the nation cannot under such conditions appeal to the police. Now and then to insure a house means that some scoundrel burns the house down in order to get the insurance. But we do not in consequence abandon insurance against fire. Now and then a nation prepares itself for a war of aggression. But this is no argument against preparedness in order to repel aggression. Preparedness against war is the only efficient form of national peace insurance.

VII

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND IS UNCLE SAM

OVER forty years ago Charles Dickens wrote as follows of the United States: "In these times in which I write it is honorably remarkable for protecting its subjects wherever they may travel with a dignity and a determination which is a model for England." Ulysses Grant was then President of the United States. Like Washington and Lincoln and Andrew Jackson, he was an American who was not too proud to fight. Those of my countrymen who are still faithful to the old American tradition cannot but feel with bitter shame the contrast between the conditions Charles Dickens thus described and the conditions at the present moment.

The policy of watchful waiting, a policy popular among governmental chiefs of a certain type ever since the days of Ethelred the Unready and for thousands of years anterior to that not wholly fortunate ruler, has failed, as of course it always does fail in the presence of serious difficulty and of a resolute and ruthless foe. We have tried every possible expedient save only the application of wisdom and resolution. It has been said that we have not tried war; but this statement can be made only by those who are inexact in their terminology. Of course, if any one's feelings are soothed by saying that when we took Vera Cruz, suffered a loss of a hundred and twenty men killed and wounded and in return killed and wounded several hundred Mexicans, we were waging peace and not waging war, why there

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

is no particular objection to this individual gaining whatever comfort is afforded by using words which mis-describe facts. But this is all the comfort he can gain. As a natural result of the impression created on foreigners by our conduct in Mexico, we were forced to hostile action in Hayti and a number of our men and our opponents were killed and wounded. Apparently we “waged peace” in Hayti, much as we “waged peace” in Mexico—and in Mexico the end of the war or peace or whatever it was that we waged was that we withdrew without getting the result which our government had announced that it would get when it took Vera Cruz.

We of the United States have had a twofold duty imposed on us during the last year. We have owed a duty to ourselves. We have owed a duty to others. We have failed in both. Primarily both failures are due to the mischievous effects of the professional pacifist agitation which became governmental nearly five years ago when the then Administration at Washington sought to negotiate various all-inclusive arbitration treaties under which we abandoned the right to stand up for our own vital interest and national honor. Very reluctantly we who believe in peace, but in the peace of righteousness, have been forced to the conclusion that the most prominent leaders of the peace agitation of the past ten years in this country, so far as they have accomplished anything that was not purely fatuous, have accomplished nothing but mischief. This result of the activities of these professional pacifist agitators has been due mainly to the fact that they have consistently placed peace ahead of righteousness, and have resolutely refused to look facts in the face if they thought the facts were unpleasant.

It is as foolish to ignore common sense in this matter

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

as in any other matter. It is as wicked to exalt peace at the expense of morality as it is to exalt war at the expense of morality. The greatest service that Lincoln rendered to the cause of permanent peace and to the greater cause of justice and of righteousness was rendered by him when, with unshaken firmness, he accepted four years of grinding warfare rather than yield to the professional pacifists of his day—the Copperheads. Washington's greatest service to peace was rendered by similar action on his part. And be it remembered that never in history have two men rendered greater service to the only kind of peace worth having for honorable men and women than was rendered by these two heroes who did not shrink from righteous war.

Failure to perform duty to others is merely aggravated by failure to perform duty to ourselves. To pay twenty-five million dollars blackmail to Colombia does not atone for our timid refusal to do our duty by Belgium. It merely aggravates it. Moreover, it should always be remembered that in these matters the weak cannot be helped by the weak; that the brutal wrongdoer cannot be checked by the coward or by the fat, boastful, soft creature who does not take the trouble to make himself fit to enforce his words by his deeds. Preparedness means forethought, effort, trouble, labor. Therefore soft men, selfish, indolent men, men absorbed in money-getting, and the great mass of well-meaning men who shrink from performing the new duties created by new needs, eagerly welcome a political leader who will comfort them, and relieve their secret sense of shame, by using high-sounding names to describe their shortcomings.

An adroit politician can unquestionably gain many votes in such fashion, if he exalts unpreparedness as a

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

duty, if he praises peace and advocates neutrality, as both in themselves moral—even although the “peace” and “neutrality” may be conditioned on the failure to do our duty either to others or to ourselves. Such a politician, if he excels in the use of high-sounding words, may win votes and gain office by thus pandering to men who wish to hear their selfishness, their short-sightedness, or their timidity exalted into virtues. But he is sapping the moral vitality of the people whom he misleads.

It has been an evil thing that this nation, which for five years has been strutting as the champion of peace and holding conferences to denounce war and praising its wealthy citizens for founding peace leagues, has contented itself with these futile activities and has not dared to strike a blow, has not dared even to say a word for righteousness in the concrete, while wrong has been at least temporarily triumphant during the past eighteen months. It is an even worse thing that during this last eighteen months we have wholly failed to prepare to defend our own homes from disaster.

Nor can we, the people of the United States, escape blame for ourselves by putting it upon our public servants. Unquestionably the Administration has been guilty of culpable indifference to the honor and the interest of the nation during the last year and a half; but it has been guilty in this fashion precisely because it could count upon popular support; and therefore the ultimate blame rests on the people, that is, on us. It may well be that political gain will come to the politicians who appeal to what is selfish and timid in the hearts of our people, and who comfort soft self-indulgence by praising it as virtuous. A correspondent from Virginia, who has always been opposed to me politically,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

writes: "The most depressing feature of the present situation is that the great majority of the American people strongly approve of the stand of President Wilson and the other apostles of Buchananism. Every one is so satisfied with his money-making and comforts, the moving-picture shows, and his automobile that there is horror at the thought of death and of need and hunger and fatigue. There is a self-righteous disposition to regard heroism as wickedness, and to consider all soldiers as wicked and immoral. 'Peace with honor' is on the lips of many when the brutal alternatives are war with honor or peace with everlasting shame and dishonor. The Administration is thoroughly terrorized by the Germans. The people of this section are for peace at any price." This may be the general sentiment of the American people, and if so, then those who pander to it will profit politically. But they will win profit for themselves by helping to debase their fellow countrymen.

When the World War broke out over a year ago, it was simply inexcusable for this people not at once to begin the work of preparation. If we had done so, we would now have been able to make our national voice felt effectively in helping to bring about peace with justice—and no other peace ought to be allowed. But not one thing has been done by those in power to make us ready. On the contrary, in his message to Congress of December, 1914, the President elaborately argued in favor of keeping ourselves unprepared, expressing the hope that, if we thus preserved immunity from hatred by keeping ourselves beneath contempt, we might create a situation where he would be employed as a go-between, as the man to fetch and carry among the warring powers when the time for peace negotiations arrived.

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

The attitude of the German-American press in this country toward the subsequent notes of the President to Germany throws the true light on this fond anticipation. These hyphenated American newspapers have shown that their entire loyalty is to that portion of the compound term which precedes the hyphen, and that they translate the term German-American as meaning that they are Germans who use their position in America as a means for endeavoring to force America to sacrifice its own honor and the interests of mankind in order to serve the German Government. The professional German-Americans here, acting, as has been shown by President Wilson's ardent supporters in New York, with the connivance of the Administration, and by the direct instigation of the German Government, have deliberately campaigned against the United States, have exulted in the German atrocities, and have openly stated that the support of the German-American vote was conditioned upon the Administration's attitude toward Germany, and that Germany would let President Wilson play a part in the peace negotiations only if he actively or passively helped Germany in the war. He has found them hard taskmasters; and they have so angered his other masters, the American people, that the latter have forced him to belated and half-hearted action. After eighteen months he has begun feebly to advocate an imperfect preparedness. After mere conversation for seven months over the *Lusitania* with Germany he finally becomes angry with Austria over the *Ancona*—for Austria is weaker than Germany and it is safer to be angry with her. But he takes no action about the various other ships which were sunk—there was little popular excitement about these ships.

Men are not to be seriously blamed for failure to see

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

or foresee what is hidden from all but eyes that are almost prophetic. The most far-seeing Americans, since the days of Washington, have always stood in advance of popular feeling in the United States so far as national preparedness against war is concerned. But on the other hand not a few of the leaders have been much less advanced than the people they led. And under right leadership the people have always been willing to grapple with facts that were fairly obvious. They have refused to do this when the official leadership was wrong.

Twenty years after the Civil War we had let our army and navy sink to a point below that of any third-class power in Europe. Then we began to build up the navy. The navy is more important to us than any other branch of the service; and gradually our people grew to appreciate this. In 1898 came the Spanish War. We did badly; but the Spaniards did worse. As that profound philosopher who writes under the name of "Mr. Dooley" put it: "We were in a dream; but the Spaniards were in a trance." However, as a result we did bring our navy up to the fourth or fifth position among the navies of the big powers, and we did raise our army until it was capable of being expanded to a hundred thousand. But immediately that the war was over Congress, probably, I regret to say, reflecting popular indifference, sagged back.*

* Certain adherents of the Administration, in endeavoring untruthfully to defend it, have actually asserted that while I was President I did not myself do enough to upbuild the army and navy! Of course these individuals know perfectly well that the criticism aimed at me while I was President was invariably because I was supposed to be too militaristic, and my critics always condemned me for endeavoring to force Congress to go farther than it was willing to go in building up the army and navy. During my term in the presidency the navy was increased threefold in strength and at least sixfold in efficiency; the army was certainly doubled in efficiency. I did my best to get Congress to do much more than it would do. I accomplished the very utmost that by appeal and argument I could get the people to sup-

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

In 1901, under the malign leadership of certain men on the Senate Naval Committee, Congress actually stopped making any appropriation whatever for fighting-ships. During the succeeding eight years, however, the interrupted work was resumed. The navy was steadily built up in numbers and still more in efficiency; shooting and fleet manœuvring on a large scale were for the first time treated as they should have been treated; and the result was that in 1909 our fleet stood second among the fleets of the world and was in shape to guarantee us against the aggression of any foreign power. This was then our first duty; and it had been accomplished. Meanwhile the efficiency of the army had likewise been greatly increased, as was shown by the contrast between the handling of the expeditionary force to Cuba under General Barry and the handling of the army corps under General Shafter six or eight years previously. But very properly the men who were alive to the need of national defense had to devote their chief attention to the navy; and it was impossible to get the public to consider both our real military and our real naval needs.

Then came the awful cataclysm of the present World War. During the years 1913 and 1914 our navy deteriorated with frightful rapidity. This was partly due to the way it was handled in connection with our absurd and humiliating little make-believe war with

port. Beginning with my first message to Congress, on December 3d, 1901, and in every year in my subsequent messages, I at length and in detail argued for "preparedness in advance," for "forethought and preparation," in building up our naval and military forces, in favor of training "for years" in advance our crews, for "no cessation in adding to the effective units of the fighting fleet," for a general staff, for keeping only the military posts and navy-yards demanded by military needs, etc., etc. I repeated these arguments in dozens of speeches in every quarter of the Union. My messages to Congress and these speeches, in which I so often and at such length argued for full preparedness in advance, are open to any one who has access to a public library.—T. R.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

Mexico. Our ships were not manœuvred and were never trained in fleet or squadron gunnery during these two years; and in consequence of this, among other causes, our fleet now stands certainly not higher than fifth among the nations in point of efficiency and is not fit at this moment to defend us from serious attack.

The events of the last year have shown that all who believed that the most frightful wrong-doing by warlike nations could be averted by the opinion of civilized mankind as a whole have been utterly in error. What is happening in this year 1916 shows that not the slightest particle of advance in international morality has been made during the century that has elapsed since the close of the Napoleonic wars. This failure is quite as much due to the misconduct of the pacifists as to the misconduct of the militarists. The milk-and-water statesmanship of the American Government during the past year has been a direct aid to the statesmanship of blood-and-iron across the water; it may not be as wicked, but it is far more contemptible. The United States has signally and culpably failed to keep its promises made in The Hague conventions, and to stand for the right. Instead, it has taken refuge in the world-old neutrality between right and wrong which is always so debasing for the man practising it. As has been well said, such a neutral is the ignoblest work of God.

There was much excuse for a general failure of Americans to understand the danger to America prior to what happened in this World War. But now there is no excuse whatever. Now, thanks to our own feeble shirking of duty, we know that if any great nation menaces us, no matter how innocent of offense we may be, we have absolutely nothing to expect from other nations. Most assuredly the neutrality we have kept

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

between right and wrong when Belgium was trodden under foot will be repaid us if our turn comes. Small blame will attach to the nations which grinningly quote our own neutral proclamations and say that they themselves intend in their turn to be neutral not only in deed but even in thought, if any European or Asiatic military power concludes to take from us the Panama Canal or Hawaii or Porto Rico or to seize and hold for ransom New York or San Francisco. Moreover, this war has made it evident that armies of hundreds of thousands of men can be transported not only across the narrow but across the broad seas. England's great navy has made the ocean a barrier to her foes, and a highway for herself, and it is only Britain's navy which has saved her from utter disgrace.

Let us profit alike by Belgium's heroic example in the present, and by the terrible fate brought on her by her lack of forethought and preparedness in the past. At present, in spite of the shattering disasters of the last year and a quarter, and although only a tiny fraction of her territory is left unconquered, Belgium's army is stronger and more efficient than ever before. It numbers about one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, with over four hundred guns and thousands of machine-guns and in addition first-class services of aviation, food-supply, sanitation, manufacture of ammunition, and the like. There are fourteen centres for the drilling of recruits, and excellent schools for the officers. The morale of the army is extraordinary. I know of nothing finer in history than the way in which this army has been raised and maintained by the Belgian nation in the midst of a cataclysm well-nigh unparalleled in the history of nations. But this cataclysm, this frightful and crushing disaster to Belgium, occurred precisely

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

because no such effort was put forth before the event. The splendid heroism of the present can only repair a small part of the horrible damage due to the unpreparedness of the past. Belgium has suffered the last extremities of woe; and she would have gone almost unscathed if before the war came she had prepared an army as strong relatively to her then strength as the present army is strong relative to her present weakness.

England, during the first year of the war, afforded a lamentable example of the punishment that will surely in the end befall any nation which fails to take its duties seriously and to prepare herself thoroughly in advance by universal military training of her citizens, and by a high standard of loyal social efficiency, for the evil day when war may come on the land. Her navy did admirably from the beginning—thanks to men like Lord Fisher, who built it up, and to Prince Louis of Battenberg, who mobilized it in the nick of time, with an efficiency comparable to that which marked the mobilization of the German army. Her soldiers at the front behaved splendidly. But the English people as a whole did not appear to advantage when compared, for instance, with the French, until more than a year had gone by. This was true of their capitalists. It was still more true of their working men—compare their striking workmen with the French working men, who toiled night and day, and exchanged brotherly greetings with the generals at the front. It was true of their men in Parliament and the press who opposed universal military service. Over a year passed before they began to produce the instruments and munitions of war in a way at all comparable with what was being done in France and Germany. Her people have as a whole volunteered in magnificent manner; but those who wished to shirk

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

their duty were permitted to shirk their duty, and this was a thoroughly evil thing. Now, eighteen months after the outbreak of the war, her people are working with extraordinary resolution and patriotism, but it is not possible wholly to undo the evil done by the lack of preparedness in advance.

If there were no lesson in this for us, I certainly should not dwell on the fact. The important point for us to remember is that if England did not do as well as she ought to have done, she did infinitely better than we would have done; and moreover she has learned her lesson and is doing well, whereas we have not learned our lesson, and our national leaders, executive, legislative, and non-official, from Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan to such congressmen as Messrs. Kitchin and Hay, are still acting in a way that brings dishonor to the American name and that is fraught with the gravest peril to the future of the nation. Capital books have been inspired by this war; Owen Wister's "Pentecost of Calamity," for instance; but in its practical teachings the best book that this war has produced is Oliver's "Ordeal by Battle." I wish that every American would read Mr. Oliver's book and would realize that everything there said as to both the shortcomings and the needs of the English people applies with far greater force to the American people at the present time. Colonel Arthur Lee, M.P., in an address to his constituents which all Americans should read, has clearly placed before the British people the vital needs and duties of the hour. Our politicians and our self-styled humanitarians and peace-lovers, if they would read this address with open minds, would profit much.

Most certainly we should avoid with horror the ruthlessness and brutality and the cynical indifference to

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

international right which the government of Germany has shown during the past year, and we should shun, as we would shun the plague, the production in this country of a popular psychology like that which in Germany has produced a public opinion that backs the government in its actions in Belgium, and cheers popular songs which exult in the slaughter of women and children on the high seas. But if we value the heritage bequeathed to us by Washington and saved for us by Lincoln, we will at once begin the effort to emulate the German efficiency, efficiency which is not only military but also social and industrial.

We in America claim that a democracy can be as efficient for defense as an autocracy, as a despotism. It is idle to make this claim, it is idle to utter windy eloquence in Fourth of July speeches, and to prate in public documents about our greatness and our adherence to democratic principles and the mission we have to do good on the earth by spineless peacefulness, if we are not able, if we are not willing, to make our words count by means of our deeds. Germany stands as the antithesis of democracy. She exults in her belief that in England democracy has broken down. She exults in the fact that in America democracy has shown itself so utterly futile that it has not even dared to speak about wrong-doing committed against others, and has not dared to do more than speak, without acting, when the wrong was done against itself. She openly exults in and counts upon the fact that the professional German-Americans are disloyal to the United States. She uses the politicians who are afraid of the German-American vote.

Every professional pacifist in America, every representative of commercialized greed, every apostle of

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

timidity, every sinister creature who betrays his country by pandering to the anti-American feeling which masquerades under some species of hyphenated Americanism—all these men and women and their representatives in public life are at this moment working against democracy. If the democratic ideal fails, if democracy goes down, they will be primarily to blame. For democracy will assuredly go down if it once be shown that it is incompatible with national security. The law of self-preservation is the primary law for nations as for individuals. If a nation cannot protect itself under a democratic form of government, then it will either die or evolve a new form of government.

I believe that our people will realize these facts. I believe that our people will make democracy successful. They can only do so if they show by their actions that they understand the responsibilities that go with democracy. The first and the greatest of these responsibilities is the responsibility of national self-defense. We must be prepared to defend a country governed in accordance with the democratic ideal or else we are guilty of treason to that ideal. To defend the country it is necessary to organize the country in peace, or it cannot be organized in war. A riot of unrestricted individualism in time of peace means impotence for sustained and universal national effort toward a common end in war-time. Neither business man nor wage-worker should be permitted to do anything detrimental to the people as a whole; and if they act honestly and efficiently they should in all ways be encouraged. There should be social cohesion. We must devise methods by which under our democratic government we shall secure the socialization of industry which autocratic Germany has secured, so that business may be encouraged and yet controlled in the general in-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

terest, and the wage-workers guaranteed full justice and their full share of the reward of industry, and yet required to show the corresponding efficiency and public spirit that justify their right to an increased reward. But the vital fact to remember is that ultimately it will prove worse than useless to have our people prosper unless they are able to defend this prosperity; to fight for it.

Let us, then, make up our minds to prepare; and make up our minds just what we want to prepare to do. We have the Panama Canal. Many of our congressmen have in the past consistently opposed the upbuilding of the navy and the fortification of the Panama Canal. These men may mean well, but their action has represented an unworthy abandonment of national duty; and they have shown themselves to be the most dangerous enemies of this Republic, men unfit to be trusted in public life in any position whatsoever. If the American people wish to support such public servants, then let them instantly abandon the Canal, giving it back to Panama or turning it over to Japan or Germany or England or any other people whose ruling class is composed of men and not of eunuchs. Let them also abandon the Monroe Doctrine; let them abandon all pretense of protecting life and property in Mexico. In short, let us take the position of the China of the Occident and await with helpless weakness the day when our territory will be divided among more competent peoples.

But if we intend to play our part as a great nation and to be prepared to defend our own interests and to do good to others, let us decide what we want to do and then make ready to do it. South of the Equator, that is, south of the line of approaches on each side to the

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

Panama Canal, we need no longer bother about the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil, Chile, the Argentine, are capable themselves of handling the Monroe Doctrine for all South America, excepting the extreme northern part. Consider the case of Argentina, for instance. In Argentina, as in Switzerland, they have universal military service. This has been of enormous use to them industrially and socially. It has also given them at present an army of close to half a million men, although they have not one-tenth the population of the United States. Argentina is far more fitted to defend its own territory from a sudden attack by a powerful enemy than is the United States. We would do well to sit at her feet and learn the lesson she can thus teach us.

Therefore we need bother with the Monroe Doctrine only so far as the approaches to the Panama Canal are concerned, that is, so far as concerns the territories between our Southern border and, roughly speaking, the Equator. We do not have to bother about the Monroe Doctrine and Canada, for during the past year Canada has shown herself infinitely more efficient than we are.

This Administration was elected on the specific promise to give freedom to the Philippines. The United States must keep its promises. No greater service has been rendered by any people to another during the past hundred years than we have rendered to the Philippines—and than we have rendered to Cuba also. In February, 1909, when the battle fleet returned from its voyage around the world, the United States was in point of military, that is, primarily naval, efficiency in such shape that there was no people that would have ventured to attempt to wrong us; and under such circumstances we could afford to keep the Philippines and to continue the work that we were doing. But since then

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

we have relatively to other powers sunk incalculably from a military standpoint; we are infinitely less fitted than we were to defend ourselves. Above all, we have promised the Filipinos independence in terms which were inevitably understood to be independence in the immediate future; and we have begun to govern them weakly.

Such indecision in international conduct shows that this people ought not to undertake the government of a distant dependency, and this both from military reasons and because of the need of keeping promises that have been made. Let us, then, as speedily as possible, leave the Philippines; and as the Philippines desire us to leave we would be quit of all moral obligations for them, and would under no circumstances be obliged to defend them from other nations.

There remain Alaska, Hawaii, our own coasts, and the Panama Canal and its approaches, as the military problem with which we should grapple; and with this problem we should grapple in the manner already set forth in this book.

A democracy should not be willing to hire somebody else to do its fighting. The man who claims the right to vote should be a man able and willing to fight at need for the country which gives him the vote. I believe in democracy in time of peace; and I believe in it in time of war. I believe in universal service. Universal service represents the true democratic ideal. No man, rich or poor, should be allowed to shirk it. In time of war every citizen of the Republic should be held absolutely to serve the Republic whenever the Republic needs him or her. The pacifist and the hyphenated American should be sternly required to fight and made to serve in the army and to share the work and danger

UNCLE SAM'S ONLY FRIEND

of their braver and more patriotic countrymen; and any dereliction of duty on their part should be punished with the sharpest rigor. The man who will not fit himself to fight for his country has no right to a vote in shaping that country's policy. As for the woman who approves the song, "I Did Not Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier," her place is in China—or by preference in a harem—and not in the United States. But she is all right if she will change the song into "I Did Not Raise My Boy To Be the *Only* Soldier." Every woman who has not raised her boy to be a soldier at need has in unwomanly fashion striven to put a double burden on some other boy whose mother had a patriotic soul. The much-praised "volunteer" system means nothing but encouraging brave men to do double duty and incur double risk in order that cowards and shirks and mere money-getters may sit at home in a safety bought by the lives of better men.

The United States has—and deserves to have—only one friend in the world. This is the United States. We have ourselves treated The Hague conventions as scraps of paper; and we cannot expect any one else to show the respect for such treaties which we have lacked. Our safety and therefore the safety of democratic institutions rests on our own strength and only on our own strength. If we are a true democracy, if we really believe in government of the people by the people and for the people, if we believe in social and industrial justice to be achieved through the people, and therefore in the right of the people to demand the service of all the people, let us make the army fundamentally an army of the whole people.

This will be carrying out the democratic ideal. The policy advocated for Britain by Lord Roberts was really

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

the necessary complement to the policy advocated for Britain by Lloyd George. In a democracy service should be required of every man, in peace and in war; we should guarantee to every man his rights, and require from each man the full performance of his duties. It may well be that in the end we shall find it worth while to insist that all our young men, at their entrance to manhood, perform a year's industrial service—in the harvest fields, in city sanitation, on the roads, anywhere. Such service would be equally beneficial to the son of the millionaire and to the boy who grows up in the crowded quarters of our great cities or out on lonely farms in the back country.

This is for the future. As for the present, it is certain that a half-year's military service would be a priceless boon to these young men themselves, as well as to the nation. It would tend to social cohesion. We would gain a genuine citizens' army, and we would gain a far higher type of citizenship. Our young men, at the outset of their lives, would be trained—not merely to shoot and to drill, which are only small parts of military training—but to habits of bodily endurance and moral self-mastery, to command and to obey, to act on their own initiative and to understand and promptly execute orders, to respect themselves and to respect others, and to understand that they are to serve their country with deeds and not words only. Under such conditions the young American would enter manhood accustomed to take pride in that disciplined spirit of orderly self-reliance combined with ability to work with others, which is the most essential element in the success of a great, free, modern democracy.

VIII

THE SOUND OF LAUGHTER AND OF PLAYING CHILDREN HAS BEEN STILLED IN MEXICO

AN astonishing proof of the readiness of many persons to pay heed exclusively to words and not at all to deeds is supplied by the statement of the defenders of this Administration that President Wilson has "kept us out of war with Mexico" and has "avoided interference in Mexico." These are the words. The deeds have been: first, an unbroken course of more or less furtive meddling in the internal affairs of Mexico carried to a pitch which imposes on this nation a grave responsibility for the wrong-doing of the victorious factions; and, second, the plunging of this country into what was really a futile and inglorious little war with Mexico, a war entered into with no adequate object, and abandoned without the achievement of any object whatever, adequate or inadequate.

To say that we did not go to war with Mexico is a mere play upon words. A quarter of the wars of history have been entered into and carried through without any preliminary declaration of war and often without any declaration of war at all. The seizure of the leading seaport city of another country, the engagement and defeat of the troops of that country, and the retention of the territory thus occupied for a number of months, constitute war; and denial that it is war can only serve to amuse the type of intellect which would assert that Germany has not been at war with Belgium because Germany did not originally declare war on Belgium.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

President Wilson's war only resulted in the sacrifice of a score of American lives and a hundred or two of the lives of Mexicans; it was entirely purposeless, has served no good object, has achieved nothing, and has been abandoned by Mr. Wilson without obtaining the object because of which it was nominally entered into; it can therefore rightly be stigmatized as a peculiarly unwise, ignoble, and inefficient war; but it was war nevertheless.

This has been bad enough. But the general course of the Administration toward Mexico has been worse and even more productive of wide and far-reaching harm. Here again, word-splitters may, if they desire, endeavor to show that the President did not "intervene" in Mexico; but if so they would be obliged to make a fine discrimination between intervention and officious and mischievous intermeddling. Whether it is said that President Wilson "intervened" in Mexican affairs, or that he merely intermeddled, so as to produce much evil and no good and to make us responsible for the actions of a peculiarly lawless, ignorant, and bloodthirsty faction, is of small importance. The distinction is one merely of words. The simple fact is that thanks to President Wilson's action—and at times his inaction has been the most effective and vicious form of action—this country has become partially (and guiltily) responsible for some of the worst acts ever committed even in the civil wars of Mexico.

When Mr. Wilson became President of the United States, Huerta was president of Mexico. On any theory of non-interference with the affairs of our neighbors, on any theory of avoiding war and of refusing to take sides with or become responsible for the deeds of bloodstained contending factions, it was the clear duty of Mr. Wilson to accept Mr. Huerta as being president

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

of Mexico. Unless Mr. Wilson was prepared actively to interfere in Mexico and to establish some sort of protectorate over it, he had no more business to pass judgment upon the methods of Mr. Huerta's selection (which had occurred prior to Mr. Wilson's advent to power) than Mexico would have had to refuse to recognize Mr. Hayes as President on the ground that it was not satisfied with his economic policy and moreover sympathized with Mr. Tilden's side of the controversy. And if Mr. Wilson made up his mind to interfere in Mexico—for of course the most trenchant type of interference was refusal to recognize the Mexican president—he should have notified foreign powers of his proposed action in order to prevent so far as possible Huerta's recognition by them. President Wilson interfered in such feeble fashion as to accomplish the maximum of evil to us and to other foreigners and the Mexicans, and the minimum of good to anybody. He hit; but he hit softly. Now, no one should ever hit if it can be avoided; but never should any one "hit soft."

When Mr. Wilson refused to recognize Huerta, he committed a definite act of interference of the most pronounced type. At the same time he and Mr. Bryan looked on with folded arms and without a protest of any kind while American citizens were murdered or robbed or shamefully maltreated in all parts of Mexico by the different sets of banditti who masqueraded as soldiers of the different factions. He maintained for a long time a friendly intercourse with one chief of political adventurers through irregularly appointed diplomatic agents, and he adopted an openly offensive attitude toward the chief of another set, although he was then the *de facto* head of whatever government Mexico had. Then he turned against this once-favored bandit

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

in the interest of a third bandit. By his action in permitting the transmission of arms over the border President Wilson not only actively aided the insurrection but undoubtedly furnished it with the means essential to its triumph, while at the same time his active interference prevented Huerta from organizing an effective resistance. His defenders allege that he could not properly have forbidden the transmission of arms to the revolutionaries across the border. The answer is that he did forbid it at intervals. He thereby showed that he was taking an active interest in the arming of the revolutionaries, that he permitted it when he chose to do so and stopped it intermittently whenever he thought it best to stop it, and was therefore entirely responsible for it.

The nominal rights which the contending factions championed, and the actual and hideous wrongs done by all of them, were not our affair save in so far as Americans and other foreigners were maltreated. We may individually sympathize, as, for instance, I personally do, with the general purpose of the programme for division of the lands among the Mexican cultivators, announced by Carranza, Villa, and other revolutionary leaders; but this no more justified interference on our part than belief in the wisdom of the single tax for the United States by some foreign ruler would warrant his interference in the internal affairs of the United States. Moreover nothing in the career of Carranza and Villa or in the conduct of the Mexican people at present justifies us in any belief that this programme will in any real sense be put into effect.

However, the interference took place. By the course President Wilson pursued toward Huerta and by the course he pursued toward Villa and Carranza, he ac-

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

tively interfered in the internal affairs of Mexico. He actively sided with the faction which ultimately triumphed—and which immediately split into other factions which are now no less actively engaged in fighting one another. Personally, I do not think that the Administration should have interfered in this manner. But one thing is certain. When the Administration did interfere, it was bound to accept the responsibility for its acts. It could not give any aid to the revolutionaries without accepting a corresponding share of responsibility for their deeds and misdeeds. It could not aid them because of their attitude on the land question without also assuming a corresponding share of responsibility for their attitude toward religion and toward the professors of religion. The United States would have had no responsibility whatever for what was done to the church by any faction which did not owe its triumph to action by the United States. But when the United States takes part in civil war in Mexico, as Messrs. Wilson and Bryan forced our government to take part, this country has thereby made itself responsible for the frightful wrong-doing, for the terrible outrages committed by the victorious revolutionists on hundreds of the religious people of both sexes.

To avoid the chance of anything but wilful misrepresentation, let me emphasize my position. I hold that it was not our affair to interfere one way or the other in the purely internal affairs of Mexico, so far as they affected only Mexican citizens; because if the time came when such interference was absolutely required it could only be justified if it were thoroughgoing and effective. Moreover, I hold that it was our clear duty to have interfered promptly and effectively on behalf of American citizens who were wronged, instead of behaving as

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

President Wilson and Secretary Bryan actually did behave. To our disgrace as a nation, they forced American citizens to claim and accept from British and German officials and officers the protection which our own government failed to give. When we did interfere in Mexican internal affairs to aid one faction, we thereby made ourselves responsible for the deeds of that faction, and we have no right to try to shirk that responsibility. Messrs. Wilson and Bryan declined to interfere to protect the rights of Americans or of other foreigners in Mexico. But they interfered as between the Mexicans themselves in the interest of one faction and with the result of placing that faction in power. They therefore bound themselves to accept responsibility for the deeds and misdeeds of that faction, and of the further factions into which it then split, in so far as Mr. Wilson sided with one of these as against the other.

Not long ago President Wilson, in a speech at Swarthmore, declared that "Nowhere in this hemisphere can any government endure which is stained by blood," and at Mobile that "we will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so." At the very time he uttered those lofty words, the leaders and lieutenants of the faction which he was actively supporting were shooting their prisoners in cold blood by scores after each engagement, were torturing men reputed to be rich, were driving hundreds of peaceful people from their homes, were looting and defiling churches and treating ecclesiastics and religious women with every species of abominable infamy, from murder and rape down. In other words, at the very time that the President was stating that "nowhere on this hemisphere can any government endure which is stained by blood," he was actively engaged in helping install in power a gov-

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

ernment which was not only stained by blood but stained by much worse than blood. At the very time that he was announcing that he would "never condone iniquity because it was convenient to do so," he was not merely condoning but openly assisting iniquity and installing in power a set of men whose actions were those of ferocious barbarians.

Remember that I am not engaged in defending the factional opponents of these victorious wrong-doers. There is not evidence sufficient to decide which of the many factions behaved worst. But there is ample material to decide that they all behaved atrociously. Apparently the Administration took the ground that inasmuch as Mr. Huerta and his followers were bad men, it was our duty to condone the evil committed by their opponents. Father R. H. Tierney, of New York City, an entirely responsible man, informs me that when (in company with two other gentlemen whose names he gives me) he called upon Mr. Bryan to bring to his attention the abominable outrages committed on certain nuns by the followers of Carranza and Villa, Mr. Bryan informed Father Tierney that he had information that "the followers of Huerta had committed similar outrages on two American women from Iowa!" (This sentence has been read to Father Tierney, who states that it describes the interview with exactness. The original of the affidavits herein quoted are in the possession of Father Tierney, 59 East Eighty-third Street, New York City, and Father Kelly, and will be shown by them to any reputable person.) Apparently Mr. Bryan believed this disposed of the situation and relieved the revolutionaries of blame.

Surely, it ought not to be necessary to say that if the facts as thus stated to and by Mr. Bryan were true (and

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

if there was any doubt immediate investigation as to their truth by the government was demanded), then the way to get justice was not by treating one infamy as wiping out the other but by exacting the sternest retribution for both and effectively providing against the repetition of either. Even assuming for the moment that the attitude of the Administration had not so committed the government that it was its duty to interfere on behalf of the nuns thus outraged, Mr. Bryan's statement to Father Tierney shows almost incredible callousness on his part to the most dreadful type of suffering, to acts far worse than the mere murder of any man. It seems literally impossible that any representative of the American Government in high office could fail to be stirred to his depths by such wrong, or could have failed to insist on the immediate and condign punishment of the wrong-doers and on the amplest safeguarding against all possible repetition of the wrong. Apparently the only way in which it occurred to Mr. Bryan to take any action against the faction whose adherents had perpetrated these hideous wrongs on the two American women was by encouraging another faction which he must have known in advance and certainly did know after the event would commit and had committed wrongs equally hideous.

I have before me a copy of *El Heraldo de Toluca* of September 13th, 1914. It contains a manifesto on behalf of the victorious revolutionaries of the party of Messrs. Carranza and Villa, dealing with the "conditions under which the Roman Worship will have to be practised." (I translate into English.) Among the preambles are the following: (1) That the ministers of the Catholic Worship circulate doctrines which are not in accordance with the principles of the true Christ;

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

(2) that on account of the learning that these ministers have acquired they cannot in the minds of those who possess equal or greater learning (but who differ from them in opinion) pass as sincere believers in the doctrines they preach and that they thereby exploit the ignorance of the ignorant masses; (3) that inasmuch as this conduct harms people by frightening them with the fear of eternal punishment and thereby tends to make them subservient to the priesthood and that inasmuch as all kinds of people from workmen to capitalists give too much money to the churches and because of various other similar facts, the decree in question is promulgated.

This decree includes the forbidding "of any sermons which will encourage fanaticism"; the proscribing of any fasts or similar practices; the prohibition of any money being paid for christenings, marriages, or other matters; the prohibition of the soliciting of contributions (that is, the passing of the plate); the prohibition of celebration of masses for the dead or the celebration of more than two masses a week; the prohibition of confession and with this object in view the closing of the churches excepting once a week at the hour of the masses; and, finally, the prohibition of more than one priest living in Toluca and the requirement that he, when he walks in the streets, shall be dressed absolutely as a civilian without anything in his costume revealing the fact that he is a minister. In order to be permitted to exercise the functions thus limited, the priest is required to affix his signature of acceptance to the foregoing regulations.

Now, in various South American countries there have been bitter contests between the clericals and the anti-clericals and again and again the extremists of each side

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

have taken positions which in the eyes of sensible Americans of all religious creeds are intolerable. There are in our own country individuals who sincerely believe that the Masons or the Knights of Columbus, or the members of the Junior Order of American Mechanics, or the Catholic Church or the Methodist Church or the Ethical Culture Society, represent what is all wrong. There are sincere men in the United States who by argument desire to convince their fellows belonging to any one of the bodies above mentioned (and to any one of many others) that they are mistaken, either when they go to church or when they do not go to church, when they "preach sermons of a fanatical type" or inveigh against "sermons of a fanatical type," when they put money in the plate to help support a church or when they refuse to support a church, when they join secret societies or sit on the mourners' bench or practise confession. According to our ideas, all men have an absolute right to favor or oppose any of these practices. But, according to our ideas, no men have any right to endeavor to make the government either favor or oppose them. According to our ideas, we should emphatically disapprove of any action in any Spanish-American country which is designed to oppress either Catholics or Protestants, either Masons or anti-Masons, either Liberals or clericals, or to interfere with religious liberty, whether by intolerance exercised for or against any religious creed, or by people who do or do not believe in any religious creed.

I hold that these should be our sympathies. But I emphatically hold that it is not the duty of this government to try to make other countries act *in accordance* with these sympathies, and, above all, not the duty of the government to help some other government which

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

acts *against* these great principles with which we sympathize. Messrs. Wilson and Bryan by their actions have assumed a certain undoubted responsibility for the behavior of the victorious faction in Mexico which has just taken the kind of stand indicated in the proclamation above quoted; a stand, of course, hostile to every principle of real religious liberty, a stand which if applied logically would mean that no minister of any church could in public wear a high-cut waistcoat or perhaps even a black frock coat, and which would put a stop even to such commonplace actions as the passing of the plate in any church to encourage home missions.

But this attitude is only one of the offenses committed. Catholic schools almost everywhere in Mexico have been closed, institutions of learning sacked and libraries and astronomical and other machinery destroyed, the priests and nuns expelled by hundreds and some of the priests killed and some of the nuns outraged. Archbishop Blenk, of New Orleans, Father Tierney, editor of *America*, Father Kelly, president of the Catholic Church Extension Society, Mr. Petry, one of the directors of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and a Mexican bishop whose name I do not give because it might involve him in trouble, came to see me at my house; and in Chicago I saw other priests and refugees from Mexico, both priests, nuns, and lay brothers. The statements and affidavits, submitted to me in the original and copies of which I have before me as I write, set forth conditions which are literally appalling and for which, be it remembered, the actions of Messrs. Wilson and Bryan have made this country partly responsible.

For example, Archbishop Blenk submitted to me an affidavit by the prioress of the Barefooted Carmelite nuns of the Convent of Queretaro. This sets forth

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

from the personal knowledge of the prioress how the churches have been profaned by soldiers entering them on horseback, breaking statues, trampling on relics, and scattering on the floor the Sacred Hosts and even throwing them into the horses' feed; how in some churches the revolutionaries have offered mock masses and have in other ways, some of them too repulsive and loathsome to mention, behaved precisely as the Red Terrorists of the French Revolution behaved in the churches of Paris; how, for example, St. Anthony's Church at Aguascalientes has been made into a legislative hall and the Church of St. Joseph at Queretaro and the great convent of the Carmelites and the lyceum of the Christian Brothers all have been confiscated; how the church property has been sequestered and the archives burned and the men and women in the cloistered communities expelled without being allowed to take even an extra suit of clothes or a book of prayer.

The prioress states that she has herself seen in Mexico City nuns who have been "victims of the passions of the revolutionary soldiers," and some whom she found in their own homes, others in hospitals and in maternity houses, who in consequence are about to be delivered of children. She deposes: "I have seen soldiers dressed up in chasubles, stoles, maniples, and cinctures, with copes and altar linen, and their women dressed up in albs, surplices, and corporals used as handkerchiefs." She has seen the sacred vessels profaned in a thousand ways. She describes meeting seven nuns who had been outraged, whom she directed to a maternity house, and who had abandoned themselves to utter despair, saying "that they were already damned and abandoned by God and they cursed the hour of their religious profession." She describes how she escaped from Queretaro

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

with nuns who had been obliged to hide in private houses in order to escape being taken to the barracks by the soldiers. She describes how she had daily to beg the food necessary to sustain the twenty-four sisters with whom she escaped.

In Chicago I saw a French priest, Father Dominic Fournier, of the Congregation of the Passion, who had just escaped from Mexico with two young Spanish students for the priesthood. He had escaped from the city of Toluca with nothing whatever, not even a rosary. He and the two novices described to me their experience in Toluca. The churches and religious houses were sacked and confiscated and the soldiers and their women indulged in orgies before and around the altars. One of the lay brothers named Mariano Gonzales tried to save some of the things from the church. The revolutionists seized him and accused him of robbing the state. He was shot by a file of soldiers on August 22d, 1914, and his dead body was left all day long in the court in which Father Fournier and the other priests and the two novices who spoke to me and their associates were confined. They were kept in prison sixteen days and then allowed to go with nothing but what they had on.

I have seen the original of and have in my possession a translation of a letter written on October 24th by a young girl of Toluca to her pastor who had been exiled. She described how the bishop had been heavily fined and exiled. She describes how the clubs of boys and girls for whom she had been working had been broken up, but how some of the boys to whom they used to give breakfast on Sunday mornings still occasionally come to see them; and she asks advice how to keep these clubs of the poor together. But the dreadful and pathetic part of the letter is contained in the following

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

sentence: "Now I will ask you a question. Suppose some one falls into the power of the Zapatistas. Would it be better for her to take her own life rather than allow them to do their will and what they are accustomed to do? As I never thought such a thing could happen, I did not ask you before about it, but now I see it is quite possible. If we had not our good God in whom we trust, I think we would give way to despair."

In other words, this girl who had been engaged in charitable work in connection with the church asks her pastor whether she is permitted to commit suicide in order to avoid the outrages to which so many hundreds of Mexican women, so many scores of nuns, have been exposed in the last few months. I cannot imagine any man of whatever creed—or of no creed—reading this letter without his blood tingling with horror and anger; and we Americans should bear in mind the fact that the actions of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan in supporting the Villistas (until President Wilson suddenly swapped bandits and supported the Carranzistas) have made us partly responsible for such outrages.

I have been given and shown letters from refugees in Galveston, in Corpus Christi, in San Antonio, and Havana. These refugees include seven archbishops, six bishops, some hundreds of priests, and at least three hundred nuns. Most of these bishops and priests had been put in jail or in the penitentiary or otherwise confined and maltreated. Two-thirds of the institutions of higher learning in Mexico have been confiscated and more or less completely destroyed and a large part of the ordinary educational institutions have been treated in similar fashion.

Many of the affidavits before me recite tortures so dreadful that I am unwilling to put them in print. It

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

would be tedious to recite all the facts set forth in these affidavits. For instance, there is one, by Daniel R. Loweree, a priest of the diocese of Guadalajara, the son of an American father, and librarian of the seminary and professor of chemistry. He describes what took place in Guadalajara. On July 21st, about one hundred priests from the city and country roundabout were put in the jail, while the cathedral was used as a barracks. In the affidavit of Canon José Maria Vela, of the Cathedral of Zacatecas, he sets forth how the constitutionalists shot a priest named Velarde, how twenty-three priests were gathered together and under the orders of General Villa required to produce one million pesos, within twenty-four hours, under penalty of being shot. A committee of the priests went out through the city begging from house to house and accepting even pennies from the children. A girl was forcibly violated by one of the soldiers in the room adjoining that in which these priests were kept. Finally, the citizens raised a couple of hundred thousand pesos and the priests were released and allowed to flee without any of their belongings. Seventeen of the fleeing priests are now in El Paso, and their names are given in the document and those of some of them signed to an accompanying document.

In an affidavit by the Reverend Michael Kubicza, of the Society of Jesus, whose father was a Hungarian physician, he describes how he was tortured in order to make him give up money. A soldier nicknamed Baca, in the presence of Colonel Fierro, put a horsehair rope around his neck and choked him until he became unconscious. When he came to, Baca fired a revolver near his head and commanded him to give up and tell him where the Jesuit treasures were buried. On an-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

swering that there were none, he was again choked until he was unconscious, and this was repeated a third time. The affidavit describes at length some of the sufferings of the priests in fleeing.

All kinds of other affidavits have been submitted to me, dealing with torture and murder, as, for example, the killing of Father Alba, the parish priest of Cabra, the killing of the parish priest and vicar at Tula, the killing of the chaplain and rector and vice-president of the Christian Brothers' College, etc., etc.

The one feature in the events narrated to me and set forth in the affidavits to me which can give any American the least satisfaction is the statement of the kindness with which the unfortunate refugees had been treated in Vera Cruz by the officers and men of the army and navy, particular mention being made of General Funston.

What I have above stated is but a small part of the immense mass of facts available to the President (and Mr. Bryan) had they cared to examine them. They relate to outrages on Catholics. This is merely because the enormous majority of the religious people of Mexico are Catholics. I should set them forth just as minutely if they had been inflicted by Catholics on Freethinkers or Protestants or Masons—I am myself both a Protestant and a Mason and I claim and exercise the right of full liberty of thought. Even if we had no responsibility for them, I nevertheless fail to see how any American could read the account of them without a feeling of burning indignation. As things actually are, shame must be mingled with our indignation. The action of the President (and Mr. Bryan) has been such as to make this country partly responsible for the frightful wrongs that have been committed on the Mexicans

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

themselves. For the wrongs committed on Americans, and neither prevented nor redressed, our government is not merely partly, but wholly, responsible.

A year ago I was shown a letter from Naco, Arizona, written by a railway engineer on January 10, 1915. He mentions that five persons had been killed and forty-seven wounded on the American side of the boundary-line by stray bullets shot by the Mexicans, and adds: "My wife was shot in the neck in our house, six hundred yards from the line, when she was reading. I would rather a thousand times be with Emperor Bill than an American citizen under such conditions." I have just been visited by a Boer gentleman, who has been resident in Mexico for a dozen years; after the Boer War he was exiled from Cape Colony and his property confiscated; but in Mexico he does not claim to be an American; he clings eagerly to his British citizenship; for England, like Germany and France, does try to protect her citizens, whereas bitter experience has taught the average American citizen in Mexico that in his case, robbery and murder will bring no protest from his home government.

At this moment the Administration is protesting about the seizure of cotton, copper, and rubber in ships owned by American merchants and destined for one of the belligerent powers in Europe. It is standing strongly for the property right of the man who wishes to sell his goods to foreigners engaged in war. It at one time urged passage of a law to let it purchase the ships of one of the powers engaged in war, which ships had been interned in our waters; a purchase which would have been to the pecuniary advantage of certain banking and business firms, and to the pecuniary advantage of the power in question, but which might very well

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

have embroiled us with the nations now at war with this power; so that the proposed law would have been very objectionable.

Yet while thus endeavoring to serve, sometimes properly and sometimes improperly, the interests of the business men which have been hurt by this war, the Administration pays not the smallest attention to the cases of the corresponding business men—certainly no less deserving—who have suffered so terribly in Mexico; and it pays no attention whatever to the cases of American citizens of humble position and small means, men, women, and children, who have lost life or limb, or all their few worldly goods, during the past two years on the Mexican border and within Mexico itself.

The El Paso *Morning Times* of December 26, 1914, a Democratic paper supporting President Wilson, stated that in the firing by Mexican soldiers across the border "fully fifty persons, including American soldiers," were wounded. A former district attorney of New Mexico writes me that the exact number was fifty-seven, some of whom were killed, and that the men shot included American soldiers walking their beats as sentries. This information was obtained from the coroner at Naco. From the same source I am informed that before President Wilson came into power, eighteen American citizens were killed and wounded in like manner at El Paso.

Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the whole Naco affair is that at that point there is an open port of entry. The arms and ammunition used to kill American women and children, and American soldiers, were openly purchased in the United States and openly delivered through a port of entry to the warring factions in Mexico. An American army officer whose name, of

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

course, I cannot give, who has been serving along the Mexican border, informs me that, among the enlisted men, man after man, when his enlistment ran out, refused to re-enlist because the orders of the Administration were that when fired at, on American soil, by Mexicans, he was not to return the fire. I speak of what I know personally when I say that this action by the Administration has not only deeply damaged us in the eyes of the Mexican people, but is a frightful source of demoralization among the American troops. It is literally incomprehensible to me that any American who knows the truth can be willing to tolerate such a condition of affairs.

Surely our people should ponder these facts. Here are American private citizens, men, women, and children, and American soldiers, all on American soil, scores of whom have been killed or wounded by bullets shot across the line. Some of the killing has been done through sheer carelessness and contemptuous indifference for our rights; some has been done maliciously and of purpose; and yet President Wilson's Administration has failed to take any action. The culmination came in the month of January of the present year 1916, when sixteen Americans were taken from a train in the state of Chihuahua and murdered premeditatedly and in cold blood. Had Mr. Wilson had in him one faint spark of the courage of Andrew Jackson no Mexican would have dared even think of such action. The murder of these Americans was the direct result of President Wilson's recognition of Carranza's government, for otherwise they would not have been in Mexico, and their murderers felt they could act with impunity because for three years President Wilson had shown again and again that American citizens could be murdered, and the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

American flag outraged, without hindrance from him. The record of the preceding Administration as regards Mexico was not a pleasant object of contemplation for Americans brought up to honor the flag; but the present Administration has made Americans in or near Mexico feel that they have no flag to honor.

Be it remembered also that there was not the slightest difficulty in stopping the particular kind of flagrant outrage that occurred along the border. There were difficulties connected with other features of possible policy in Mexico, but there never has been the slightest difficulty as regards this particular matter. At any moment since, some five years ago, the revolution began, this type of outrage could have been stopped within twenty-four hours. It can be stopped overnight. All that is necessary is to notify the Mexican authorities that if there is any repetition of such action at any point, the American troops will promptly be sent over to the locality where the outrage occurs and will drive all the contestants to beyond extreme rifle-range of the border, and will exact immediate punishment for any man or party violating the measures which the American officer in charge deems it necessary to take to protect our peaceable citizens within our own borders. It is literally incomprehensible that orders such as this should not have been issued years ago.

I speak of the cases of this type because they are so flagrant; because there can be no discussion about them and no defense of them which can puzzle any man of reasonable intelligence. But the wrongs thus committed constitute only the tiniest fraction of the innumerable wrongs committed upon Americans and upon foreigners of every nationality in the course of the five years of anarchy during which Mexico has been torn

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

to pieces by various groups of banditti. The worst of these banditti have been more or less actively helped by the present Administration, and during the entire five years, but notably during the last three years, they have all of them been permitted to prey with impunity upon the persons and the property of Americans and of other foreigners in Mexico.

The Administration should be condemned for its policy in Mexico; but let us be frank with ourselves, we Americans, and say the condemnation should be visited upon us as a nation, for we have had the amplest knowledge of all that has happened. It has been put before us in detail officially. Yet we have declined to make our indignation felt by President Wilson, and by Mr. Bryan (when Mr. Bryan was in office). Messrs. Wilson and Bryan not merely sat supine, but actually encouraged the Mexican leaders who were responsible for the murder of American men and the outraging of American women. Since Mr. Bryan left office, President Wilson has continued the policy unchanged, and his is the sole responsibility for the innumerable murders and outrages that have since occurred; murders and outrages committed by Carranzistas and Villistas alike.

I wish that every American citizen would read the speech of Senator Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico, delivered in the Senate of the United States on March 9, 1914. Not only have Senator Fall's statements been left unanswered, but no adequate attempt has even been made to answer them. One or two Democratic senators have striven to answer similar statements by the assertion that things as bad were permitted under the Administration of President Taft. But Senator Fall's speech was open to no such rejoinder, for he im-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

partially cited outrages committed prior to the advent and subsequent to the advent of the present Administration to power.

The Senate partially performed its duty. On April 20, 1913, it sent to the President a formally worded request for information as to the number of Americans killed in Mexico, the number driven out of that country, and as to what steps had been taken to obtain justice. No answer whatever was made to this request, and it was repeated in the following July. Then the President answered, declining to give the information on the ground that it was not compatible with the public interest. If the President had then had a well-thought-out policy which he intended forthwith to apply for remedying the conditions of affairs, such an answer might have been proper. But, as a matter of fact, events have shown that he had no policy whatever, save in so far as vacillating inability to do anything positive may be called a policy. Two years and a half have passed since this answer was returned to the Senate; murder and spoliation have continued unchecked; and still not one action has been taken by the present Administration to right the fearful wrongs that have been committed, and still the public has never been shown the material in possession of the State Department.

The following statements are contained in Senator Fall's speech. They form but a small proportion of the cases that have been brought to my own attention. But they are officially stated by Senator Fall. President Wilson and Secretary Bryan had it in their power, when these statements were made over two years ago, at once to find out whether or not they were well founded. It was their duty immediately to investigate every case

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

thus specifically mentioned by Senator Fall, and either to take action or to furnish to the Senate and the people refutation of the charges. They did nothing whatsoever. They dared not do anything whatsoever.

Senator Fall recites extracts from the report of W. W. Suit, the chief of the Order of Railway Conductors in the republic of Mexico; the statement of Conductor T. J. O'Fallon; the affidavits of Conductor J. S. McCranie and Engineer J. D. Kennedy, of August 3, 1913; all reciting in detail the outrages committed in 1911, which resulted in five hundred American railroad men being driven from Mexico. The chief of the Order of Railway Conductors remarks very pertinently, "Every American who has been in touch with the situation and every citizen of other civilized countries sees the necessity of adding the Big Stick to the Monroe Doctrine," which is merely a picturesquely idiomatic way of stating the common-sense truth that unless resolute purpose and potential force are put back of every such doctrine or declaration of foreign policy, our enunciation of the doctrine or declaration excites mere derision.

These particular infamies complained of here, like not a few to which Senator Fall calls attention, were committed prior to Mr. Wilson's coming to power; but Mr. Wilson has never sought redress for them or for the outrages committed since he has been in power. Senator Fall, for instance, asks: "What has been done to investigate the death of Mrs. Anderson, which occurred in Chihuahua on June 22, 1911? Not under this Administration. This is no partisan question and I think I will be acquitted of any attempt to take any possible partisan or political advantage in what I shall say as to the last Administration and this Administration; but I should like to know whether there has been

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

any attempt whatsoever made to investigate the case to which I have just referred."

He then recites the facts. Mrs. Anderson was a poor woman, living with her little daughter of thirteen and her little boy of seven in their house. The soldiers of Madero's army entered the house and demanded that she should cook for them. She was shot, fell to the ground, compelled to rise from the ground and continue to cook, although bleeding to death; and at the same time her little daughter, thirteen years old, was outraged in her presence. The boy of a neighbor, running to their assistance, was shot at the door of the house and killed. The American colonists, not being at that time as intimidated as they have since been, procured the arrest of the men charged with this crime. They were convicted, were sent for six months to jail, and then were turned loose upon the community. The woman died.

A little American girl of twelve, Mabel Richardson, was assailed seventeen miles from where this first outrage occurred. Her assailants were never punished; and Senator Fall in his speech recited the fact that not one word, not one line of protest ever proceeded from our government in the matter, although these were among the cases to which he referred in his speech in the Senate on July 22, 1912.

James W. Harvey was killed in the state of Chihuahua in May, 1912.

William Adams, a citizen of Senator Fall's own State, was murdered at about the same time, and not an effort was made by the government to punish the perpetrator of the outrage.

In the case of A. J. Fountain, who was killed, the government did act, and its action was worse than in-

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

action. It notified the man responsible for the murder that American citizens must not be killed. This man, named Salazar, serving under Madero, disregarded the notice sent him, killed another American, and when Senator Fall made his speech he had fled from the Huertistas and was living under the protection of our government at El Paso. Says Senator Fall: "He is eating three square meals a day on this side of the river at Fort Bliss, near El Paso, Texas, protected by American soldiers. Meals are being provided and paid for by the taxpayers of this government for something over four thousand of the Mexicans who came across the river."

Joshua Stevens was killed near Colonia Pacheco, Mexico, on August 25, 1912, and his two little daughters assaulted. The case was brought to the attention of the State Department, but no protest was made.

Johnny Brooks was killed at Colonia, Chihuahua, in May, 1913. He, however, was a former Texas ranger and, after being mortally wounded by five assailants, he killed their leader, a Mexican lieutenant, before he himself died. This man had been originally in the employ of Senator Fall himself. His life was taken without the slightest provocation, and nothing was ever done by our government to demand reparation.

On July 26, 1913, near Tampico, Matthew Gourd, from the State of Iowa, and his daughter and niece were attacked by Mexicans. Gourd was tied to a tree and his daughter and niece outraged in his presence. Apparently the only action taken by President Wilson's Administration was to send word to the American consul at Tampico that a Red Cross ship would be sent down there for a short while and that all Americans should be notified that if they desired they could go on board it and leave Mexico!

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

On June 18, 1913, Rogers Palmer, an English citizen, was killed, and Carl von Brandts and L. W. Elder, American citizens, were wounded in Tampico, while endeavoring to defend American women from the attack of certain of Villa's bandits.

About the same time H. W. Stepp, an American, was shot because of his refusal to pay five hundred pesos ransom.

Edmund Hayes and Robert Thomas were killed by Santa Caravo. Senator Fall personally called the attention of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan to the fact that the murderer was walking the streets of Juarez, five minutes' ride from El Paso. The department demanded his arrest and punishment. He was arrested, but nothing more has been heard of the case; and Senator Fall could get no answer to his requests to know what the government had done to back up its threats and to enforce the punishment of this man, a red-handed murderer of two men, among the best-known American pioneers in Mexico.

Benjamin Griffin, a ranchman, was murdered July 5, 1913. No reparation has been obtained.

John H. Williams, a mining engineer, Boris Gadow, a consulting engineer, and U. G. Wolf, a mining engineer, were all shot, but nothing was done about it. I quote verbatim from what Senator Fall says of the next case he mentions: "Frank Ward was shot in the back by bandits near Yago, Tepic Territory, April 9, 1913. I endeavored to obtain information, not by asking the State Department, but from other sources, as I have been compelled to obtain information in other cases. For a long while it was impossible for me to get the facts of the occurrence resulting in Ward's killing, because when American women are attacked and outraged, they

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

themselves and their friends attempt to keep their names out of the press and avoid in every way possible publicity in matters of that kind. But I can say to you now, Mr. President, that an affidavit is on file in the American Embassy in the City of Mexico from Mrs. Ward herself stating that when her husband was shot, and writhing in his wounds on the floor, she was outraged by Mexican bandits, who then killed him. The affidavit is on file. Has any attempt been made to secure the punishment of those guilty of this crime?" No; President Wilson took no action whatever.

Senator Fall went on to enumerate scores of similar murders and outrages. It would be useless to recapitulate them. I call attention only to one or two cases. A United States customs inspector, John S. H. Howard, was assassinated near Eagle Pass, Texas. The United States Government did nothing, but in this particular case the State of Texas caught one of the assassins and dealt with him, says the senator, "as Texas is prepared to deal, I am glad to say, with other assassins."

L. Bushnell, a mounted policeman, was killed in Naco, Ariz., by a bullet from over the line, March 24, 1913. R. H. Ferguson, a member of Troop F, Third United States Cavalry, was killed by a bullet fired over the border in similar manner.

Senator Fall states that it is probable that not as many Americans have been killed during the last two years as during the preceding three years, because the Americans have been driven out of Mexico by herds. On July 28, 1913, he notified the secretary of state, Mr. Bryan, that he had in his possession a list of two hundred and eighty-four men, three hundred and one women, and one thousand two hundred and sixty-six children, all of them Americans, who had been driven

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

out of Mexico for no fault of their own. They were people of small means; their little cottages had been burned to the ground in most cases. Secretary of State Bryan acknowledged the receipt of the letter and did nothing whatever about it. President Wilson supported Mr. Bryan in the matter.

Senator Fall gave minutely and in detail case after case of unspeakable outrages. He showed that these cases were called specifically to the attention of the Administration and that the Administration deliberately declined to act on behalf of the unfortunate beings who had suffered such dreadful wrong. He recited, what has been told to me personally by other men who have seen Mr. Bryan, that Mr. Bryan declined to act in behalf of Americans who had lost their property, on the ground that he was not interested in "protecting American dollars." But the enormous majority of the men, women, and children who have suffered in Mexico belong to the class of those persons of small means who support themselves by their own work. Undoubtedly the destruction of property has fallen upon the wealthy no less than upon the humble; but the American women who have been outraged, the American men who have been killed, and the American children who have been deprived of their parents or of their homes, in the immense majority of cases, belong to the class whose means are small.

President Wilson and Secretary Bryan endeavored to "protect the dollars" of wealthy foreign corporations by purchasing from or through them the German ships interned in our ports, and they endeavored to "protect the dollars" of wealthy property-owners who desired to make fortunes through the sale of contraband, but they made no effective protest, they took no action what-

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

ever, as regards the railway conductors, the brakemen, the small farmers and ranchmen, the mining engineers, our fellow citizens peacefully plying their trades in Mexico, whose property was taken from them, who themselves were sometimes killed, and whose wives and daughters, American women, American girls, sometimes suffered outrages worse than death.

It is eminently right to "protect American dollars," so long as this can be done without interfering with the just rights of others. It is even more necessary to protect the persons and lives of American men and women. But what shall we say of the governmental representatives who do neither, and seek to cover their failure by prattle about despising "dollars"? Especially when on the high seas they treat "dollars" as of more importance than the lives of women and children?

Let me repeat that I quote Senator Fall only because he has spoken as a senator, so that his remarks are contained in an official document, which should be circulated broadcast throughout the United States. I relate a few of the specific cases he quotes merely as instances, to show that our public officials have had multitudes of such cases specifically called to their attention. Any number of similar statements to those of Senator Fall have been made to me by private individuals. American after American has told me that our fellow countrymen are eagerly seeking to obtain English or German citizenship, and American heads of corporations in Mexico have told me that they are employing only Germans or Englishmen, because, though Englishmen and Germans are not treated well in Mexico, they are infinitely better treated than Americans.

There is no government in the world for which the Mexican people now feel the profound contempt that

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

they feel for the United States Government; and we owe this contempt to the way in which our governmental authorities have behaved during the last five years, but especially during the last three years. Well-meaning people praise President Wilson for having preserved "peace" with Mexico, and avoided the "hostility" of Mexico. As a matter of fact his action has steadily increased Mexican hostility, has not prevented the futile and infamous little "war" in which we first took and then abandoned Vera Cruz, and has been responsible for death, outrage, and suffering which have befallen hundreds of Americans and hundreds of thousands of Mexicans during the carnival of crime and bloodshed with which this "peace" has prevented interference.

Senator Fall made it evident in his speech that he held no brief for either of the contending Mexican factions. He described Huerta in language of just severity, but he showed, what every man in his senses knows, that Villa has been a bandit and murderer by profession, and a murderer, robber, and outrager of women since he has become a general in the revolution. Carranza and his party have stood precisely on the same level of bandit-murder. There was no reason whatever for any American to uphold Huerta; but to antagonize him on moral grounds, and then to endeavor to replace him by a polygamous bandit, was not compatible with any intelligent system of international ethics. Nor did any betterment follow from dropping this bandit, and putting the power of the United States Government behind another bandit. It may be entirely proper to take the view that we have no concern with the morality of any chief who is for the time being the ruler of Mexico. But to do as President Wilson has done and actively take sides against Huerta and for Villa, condemning the

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

former for misdeeds, and ignoring the far worse misdeeds of the latter, and then to abandon Villa and support against him Carranza, who was responsible for exactly the same kind of hideous outrages against Americans, and insults to the American flag, is an affront to all who believe in straightforward sincerity in American public life.

Senator Fall gives in detail the circumstances of a few of Villa's crimes, some of them so shocking that any decent man's blood boils as he reads them. Villa's efficiency has unquestionably been great, but it has been efficiency of the type which in the reign of King Bomba gave certain Sicilian and Calabrian bandit chiefs international prominence. The statements of Senator Fall have never been successfully questioned. Villa can, of course, be defended, but only in the sense that it is possible to defend Geronimo or some other Apache chief of Geronimo's type; to defend Villa as representing freedom and justice and democracy in the sense that the words are used in speaking of civilized nations is literally like defending an old-time Apache chief on the same grounds. The sincerity of such a defense can escape question only if the defender is admitted to be entirely ignorant of all concerning which he speaks.

It is not possible to give all the facts in full. For this the responsibility lies entirely with the President, for he has consistently carried out a policy of secrecy as regards the outrages on our citizens in Mexico. He has persistently refused to let the facts be known. He has worked in the darkness and behind cover. He has followed the policy of preventing all publicity. He has concealed the truth and furtively evaded telling the truth. But nevertheless we do know the facts in a very large number of cases. From the information available,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

it appears that over two hundred American lives have been lost in Mexico; that as regards none of them has redress been secured, and that as regards most of them it has not even been demanded.

Apparently many hundreds of millions of dollars of American capital was invested in Mexico, and of this almost all is gone. As before stated, when remonstrated with on this subject, Mr. Bryan, speaking for President Wilson, repeatedly informed callers that he was not "interested in American dollars"; that Americans who invested in property in foreign countries could not look to this government to protect them. Yet at that very time another member of the Cabinet who sat at the same council board with Mr. Bryan was making an earnest appeal that Americans should invest their property—"dollars"—in enterprises in South America; and at that very time Mr. Bryan, in accordance with the orders of Mr. Wilson, was making protests about the interference with American property—"dollars"—on the high seas.

Of course what Messrs. Wilson and Bryan say about "American dollars" is a mere rhetorical flourish in any event. If we have no right under any circumstances to jeopardize life to protect property in international matters, then we have no right to jeopardize it to protect property in municipal matters. If the Wilson-Bryan doctrine is true, then no policeman should arrest any violent offender for a crime less than murder or rape, and no householder should defend himself against a burglar or highwayman, for in such case he is undoubtedly jeopardizing the life either of his assailant or himself in order to "protect dollars."

However, President Wilson's practice is a little worse even than his theory. His theory has been that he would not protect American property in Mexico. His

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

practice has been that he would not protect American men from murder and American women from rape in Mexico. And at the same time President Wilson, in striving to secure and protect certain kinds of property—that is, in dealing with matters of contraband and of the purchase of the interned ships of one of the powers now at war—has been following in feeble and irresolute fashion a policy which it is quite conceivable would, if successful, let us drift into war in peculiarly ignoble fashion.

The Hague conventions bound us to protest against the dreadful wrong done to the men, women, and children of Belgium. President Wilson declined to make any protest on behalf of human life, lest to do so might embroil us with some powerful outside nation; but he protests heartily against any interference with our selling copper to be used in the warlike operations against these same Belgians; thereby showing that in practice he puts property rights above those highest of human rights which concern the lives of the helpless.

A year ago President Wilson spoke on the subject of Mexico in a speech at Indianapolis. At the beginning of his speech he said: "I got very tired staying in Washington and saying sweet things. I wanted to come out and get in touch with you once more and say what I really thought." Disregarding the implication as to his own past sincerity contained in this statement, we have a right to take the speech as expressing his deliberate conviction and purpose. He said that he possessed "a reckless enthusiasm for human liberty," and then spoke of his own policy of "watchful waiting in Mexico." Apparently, in his mind "watchful waiting" is a species of "reckless enthusiasm." He asserted that the people of Mexico have a right to do anything they please about

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

their business, saying: "It is none of my business; it is none of your business how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business and it is none of yours how they go about the business. Haven't the European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs? Shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak?"

This is the kind of language that can be used about Mexico with sincerity only if it is also to be applied to Dahomey and to outrages like those of the French Commune. It cannot in the long run be accepted by any great state which is both strong and civilized nor by any statesman with a serious purpose to better mankind. In point of public morality it is fundamentally as evil a declaration as has ever been put forth by an American President in treating of foreign affairs; and there is to it the added touch of inefficiency.

Moreover, President Wilson's words, bad though they are, have not been borne out by his deeds. He has actively interfered in Mexico on behalf of some of those spillers of blood whose right to "spill" blood he exuberantly champions. He has not interfered to punish the bandits and murderers who have killed American men and outraged American women. He has not interfered to protect the honor and the interest of the United States. He has not interfered to protect the lives and the property of our citizens or of the citizens of any other country. But he has interfered to help put into power the very worst among the leaders of the various murderous and thieving groups and factions, and then to replace him with the next worst.

President Wilson refused to run the risk of shedding the blood of any American soldiers to protect American citizens and put a stop to anarchy and murder and pre-

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

vent further blood-spilling or to try to bring peace to the distracted land of Mexico. He refused to run the risk of shedding the blood of any American soldier in order to prevent the killing of American soldiers and American private citizens on our own territory by Mexicans who shot at or toward them from the other side of the border-line. The rape of women, the murder of men, and the cruel treatment of little children left his tepid soul unstirred. Insult to the American flag, nameless infamies on American women, caused him not one single pulse of emotion. But he wantonly and without the smallest excuse and without the smallest benefit to this country shed the blood of several scores of American soldiers and sailors in order to help put one bloodstained bandit in the place of another bloodstained bandit. And he now, without any reason of morality or sound public policy, is helping a third bloodstained bandit against his former ally and protégé, the second bandit.

Murder and torture; rape and robbery; the death of women by outrage and children by starvation; the shooting of men by the thousand in cold blood—Mr. Wilson takes note of these facts only to defend the right of vicious and disorderly Mexicans to “spill” as much as they please of the blood of their peaceful fellow citizens and of law-abiding foreigners. But when the chance came for him to use the army and navy of the United States in favor of the worst offender among all the rival bandit chiefs, he eagerly clutched at it.

Senator Lodge, in his speech of January 6, 1915, discussed at length what President Wilson has done in this matter, and no successful attempt has been made or can be made to answer what he then said. His speech, together with the speech of Senator Fall and the speech

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

of Senator Borah, should be circulated among all honest citizens who wish to know what the facts really are.

The country should clearly understand the awful misery that has been brought upon Mexico by President Wilson's policy. It is extraordinary that we do not realize that, thanks to our own selfishness and heedlessness, thanks to the dishonorable timidity of the Administration, the conditions of life in Mexico are worse at this moment than the conditions of life in the regions over which the contending armies in Europe have fought. In 1914 we sent Christmas ships abroad to the war-stricken countries of Europe. This was well; but why did we neglect Mexico, where our own responsibility is so heavy?

At that very time a pathetic appeal had been issued by a company of Mexicans near the international boundary-line addressed "To the American People and their Exalted Authorities." It was a plea for work for the men and bread for the women and children. They asked for work, for justice, for bread. Conditions like those which in Europe have shocked the civilized world have existed here right against our own borders, for four years, unconsidered by us.

As the wife of one of our consuls-general has said: "Mexico is peopled with widows and orphans, and famine is in the land. One sees it daily, in emaciated forms, shrunken cheeks, tightly drawn skin, and burning eyes. It is in the faces of women, old men, and little children. Many have died on American soil during the past year, ostensibly from obscure disease, but actually from starvation, and there are hundreds of children who have never had sufficient food in their pitiful little lives. That is the heart-breaking tragedy in it all—the unsmiling little children who sit silently by the doors of

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

the huts through the long hours of long days. The sound of laughter and of playing children has been stilled in Mexico. From these people comes a cry of bread for the starving. The United States has claimed the exclusive right to intervene in Mexican affairs. Will we demand the right and repudiate the obligation?"

This is the state of affairs to which Mexico has been brought by the practical application of Mr. Bryan's doctrine as to not caring for "American dollars" (it is American dollars that buy food for the starving, Mr. Bryan!) and of President Wilson's doctrine that we must not interfere or let any one else interfere to stop "spilling blood" in Mexico. President Wilson's position meets the enthusiastic approval of the bandits who spill the blood. It meets and it merits the enthusiastic support of the blood-smeared leaders to whom his inaction has given the chance to murder men and outrage women and to let little children starve.

But the laughter of little children has been stilled in Mexico. It has been stilled because President Wilson in his handling of the Mexican problem, as in his handling of every other branch of our foreign affairs, has placed this country in the position of shirking its plain duty, of seeking its own ignoble ease beyond everything else, and of declining to protect its own citizens or to fulfil its international obligations or to interfere for the weak and helpless, when rapine and murder stalk in insolent mastery over the land.

Our course as regards Mexico has been a terrible thing for Mexico. It has been a shameful thing for the United States. But if this policy is permanently continued, there will be yet further shame in store for the United States. Sooner or later the war in Europe will come to an end; and then the great armed nations, after

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

a more or less brief interval, will certainly turn their attention to us and to Mexico. We cannot forbid interference with Mexico in the name of the Monroe Doctrine and yet fail to fulfil the obligation imposed on us by common humanity if we maintain that doctrine.

Spaniards, Germans, Englishmen, Italians, Frenchmen have been wronged in Mexico, only less than our own citizens have been wronged—only less than decent and well-behaved Mexicans have been wronged—by the inhuman bandits to whom our government has furnished arms and aid for the perpetration of their crimes. President Wilson in his messages has confusedly advocated, first that we stay unprepared and helpless in the face of military nations, and next that we go into a policy of half-way preparation; and in actual fact he has not made even the smallest advance toward preparedness. He also advocates that in Mexico we pursue the policy of letting the violent and disorderly elements of the population slowly destroy all the leading men, all the reputable people, and bring destruction by fire and steel, by disease and famine, on the humble men and women and little children, and also on the strangers within their gates.

The self-respecting and powerful nations of the world will not permanently permit such a course of action. We will not permanently be permitted to render ourselves impotent in the face of possible aggression and at the same time try to forbid other nations from righting wrongs which we are too weak, too timid, or too short-sighted ourselves to right. In the end foreign nations will assuredly take issue with the Wilson-Bryan theory, which is that America can adopt as her permanent policy the shirking of national duty by this country, combined with a protest against any other country

LAUGHTER STILLED IN MEXICO

doing the duty which we have shirked. Either we shall have to abandon the Monroe Doctrine and let other nations restore order in Mexico, and then deprive us of any right to speak in behalf of any people of the western hemisphere, or else we must in good faith ourselves undertake the task and bring peace and order and prosperity to Mexico, as by our wise intervention it was brought to Cuba.

In the last five years the suffering in Mexico has in the aggregate far surpassed the suffering in Belgium during the last eighteen months. Dark deeds have been done in Belgium, but they have not been as dark as the fiendish atrocities perpetrated in Mexico. For these Mexican atrocities the United States Government must shoulder a very heavy load of responsibility, thanks chiefly to President Wilson's Administration.

The other day a friend of mine, a German diplomat, wrote to me taking exception to my condemnation of Germany because of its acts toward Belgium, and his letter ran partly as follows: "You do not refer to the present Mexican question, at which I am not astonished. Don't you believe it would have been rather queer to get a protest about Belgium from a government which had created the most extraordinary breach of international-law-impossibilities (please excuse this queer expression) by at first not recognizing a president of a neighboring country, with whom it seemed on good terms, then allowing arms to be sent to the revolutionaries in that country, not to recognize them as belligerents though; then to forbid this export of arms, then to allow it again; to occupy by force a port, to leave it again, and to wind up by leaving the country in question—which was supposed to benefit by all this, at least that was what we outsiders were told—with, I think,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

five presidents fighting one another and ruining the country completely? I think the results for Mexico have been worse than our invasion of Belgium."

There was no adequate answer that I could make to my German friend; and in the wrongs done to Belgium by Germany, Germany has at least shown strength and fearlessness and efficiency, whereas the course of the Administration in regard to Mexico has branded our country with the brand of feebleness, timidity, and vacillation. A weakling who fears to stand up manfully for the right may work as much mischief as any strong-armed wrong-doer. For two years President Wilson has decreed that Mexican malefactors shall be allowed at will to spill the blood of the innocent, and because of this attitude of President Wilson, American men have been wantonly murdered and American women outraged, while the famine-stricken women of Mexico mourn, and among their starving children there is no laughter.

IX

WHEN IS AN AMERICAN NOT AN AMERICAN?

THE following two letters show an attitude on the part of the National Administration which challenges the careful consideration of every American. The letters, which were sent me by Mr. John M. Parker, of New Orleans, explain themselves:

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State,*
Washington, D. C.

Your Excellency:

My father, P. A. Lelong, was a native of France and came to New Orleans when he was about twenty years of age; lived here about forty years. He died here about two years ago, but about five years before his death took out naturalization papers.

I was born in New Orleans, June 18, 1880. I have never been out of the United States and have regularly voted as an American citizen since I reached the age of twenty-one years, and if war had ever occurred between France and the United States, I most certainly would have fought for the United States. I have held the office of Township Commissioner in Henderson County, North Carolina; have held several court appointments, both Federal and State, and am a member of the State and Federal bar, and have considered myself as much an American citizen as President Wilson or any of the members of the Cabinet.

I wish to visit France on business in the near future, and am informed by Mr. Ferrand and the French Consul here that if I go to France I could be either impressed

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

into the French service or punished for not having reported for military duty, and also for having served in the State Militia of Louisiana without permission from the French Government.

I contend that if the French Government had any right to claim me as a citizen under their laws, in times of peace they should have called on me to serve my three years in their military service.

Wishing to know whether my constitutional privileges as an American citizen follow me wherever I go, with its constitutional guaranties, or whether the United States Government will allow the French Government to act in the manner as stated by Mr. Ferrand, the French Consul, I respectfully request an answer at as early a date as possible.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) P. A. LELONG, JR.

To this the following answer was returned:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON,

April 2, 1915.

MR. P. A. LELONG, JUNIOR, 832 *Union Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.*

Sir: The Department has received your letter of March 27, 1915, stating that you expect to go to France on business in the near future and inquiring whether you would be molested by the French military authorities. You say that you were born in New Orleans, June 18, 1880, and that your father, a native of France, resided in this country about forty years and obtained naturalization as a citizen of the United States shortly before his death, which occurred about two years ago.

WHEN IS AN AMERICAN?

Under the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. Section one, Article VII of the French Civil Code, states that the following are Frenchmen: "Every person born of a Frenchman in France or abroad."

It thus appears that you were born with a dual nationality, and the Department cannot therefore give you any assurance that you would not be held liable for the performance of military service in France should you voluntarily place yourself within French jurisdiction.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State,

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING,

Counsellor.

One effect of this decision, on an American citizen who actually went abroad, reached me in a letter I received, dated November 6th, 1915, from Camp House, Short Hills, N. J. The writer is an Italian woman, Elizabeth Parness. Her husband, Vito Parness, is not only a naturalized citizen, but has served in the Eleventh Cavalry, United States army, for three years, being discharged a non-commissioned officer. In November, 1914, he went to Italy to see his old father and mother and has not been allowed to return. His wife writes me that she is in dire poverty, having no means of support; that the State Department has been notified, but that nothing has been done. But it is, perhaps, natural that when native-born Americans are murdered and their wives raped with impunity in Mex-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

ico, naturalized Americans, even although ex-United States soldiers, receive no protection in Europe.

I hold that it is the clear duty of the American people immediately to repudiate the doctrine thus laid down by the Wilson Administration. According to this doctrine there are in our country very many citizens—and, as a matter of fact, this ruling would apply to millions of citizens—who are “born with a dual nationality.” Two or three years ago it was announced that Germany had passed a law by which she provided for her citizens, who became naturalized in the United States or elsewhere, the means of also retaining their German citizenship, so that these men would preserve a dual citizenship, what the Department of State in this letter of April 2d last calls “a dual nationality.” I hold that it was the business of our government as soon as this statement was published to investigate the facts, to require would-be citizens to repudiate this law, and to notify the German Government that we protested against and would refuse to recognize its action; that we declined to recognize or acquiesce in the principle of such a dual citizenship or a dual nationality; that we would hold naturalized citizens to the full performance of the duties of American citizenship, which were necessarily exclusive of and inconsistent with the profession of citizenship in or allegiance to any other nation, and that in return we would extend the same protection to these citizens that is extended to native-born citizens. Such action was not taken. It is a reproach to us as a nation that it was not taken. We should not for a moment tolerate the assumption by Germany or by any other foreign power that foreign-born citizens of the United States can retain any citizenship in or allegiance to the country from which they came.

WHEN IS AN AMERICAN?

But the present case is even worse. It seems incredible that the Department of State can promulgate the doctrine of dual nationality promulgated in its letter above quoted. Yet it has been asserted and reasserted, both before and since Mr. Bryan left office. It is dangerously close to treason to the United States to hold that men born here of foreign parentage, men who have served in the militia in this country, who vote and hold office and exercise all the other rights of citizenship, and who in good faith are and always have been Americans, should, nevertheless, be blandly informed by the State Department that if they visit the countries in which their parents were born they can be seized, punished for evasion of military duty, or made to serve in the army.

Let me point out a few of the possible applications of the doctrines thus laid down by the Department of State. If Colonel Goethals went to Holland he would be liable to be shipped out for military service in Sumatra. If Admirals Osterhaus and Schroeder had gone to Germany they could have been forced to serve under Admiral von Tirpitz in the German navy. If General Barry should visit England he could be seized and sent to the trenches in France. If my neighbors Messrs. Peter Dunne and Mark Sullivan, and my friends Judge O'Brien and James Conolly and Charles Conolly, went to England they could be impressed into the British army for service in Flanders or Ireland. If the sons of Jacob Riis went to Denmark they could be retained in the Danish forces. If the son of the Great War correspondent McGahan, whose mother was a Russian lady, went to Russia, he could be sent to serve in the Carpathians. President Andrew Jackson on this theory could have been impressed for military service in the English army against which he fought at New Orleans,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

if he had ever happened to visit England; and President Arthur would have been in the same plight.

Such incidents seem like the phantasmagoria of an unpleasant dream. Until I saw this letter of April 2d last, I had not supposed that it would be possible for any human being in our country to uphold such a proposition. Yet in point of rights, Mr. Lelong stands exactly level with the men whom I have thus instanced. Surely it ought not to be necessary to say that the rights of every citizen in this land are as great and as sacred as those of any other citizen. The United States cannot with self-respect permit its organic and fundamental law to be overridden by the laws of a foreign country. It cannot acknowledge any such theory as this of "a dual nationality"—which, incidentally, is a self-evident absurdity.

Mr. Lelong was born in this country; when he became of age he elected to exercise his birthright granted to him by the Constitution of the United States; he took an oath to support that Constitution, and he has held military office under its authority, and under the authority of two States of the American Union. He is eligible to the presidency of the United States. He is a citizen of the United States, standing on an exact equality of right with all other citizens, and he is entitled to the full protection of the United States both in and out of any foreign country, free and exempt from any provision of the law of that country as to citizenship. There should not be a moment's delay in asserting this doctrine, not only as regards Mr. Lelong and France, but as regards Germany in connection with her law providing for a dual citizenship so far as it concerns immigrants from Germany who become citizens of the United States.

WHEN IS AN AMERICAN?

We should assert in the face of all the nations of the world, of France and England, of Russia, Austria, and Germany, the principle that we ourselves determine for ourselves the rights of citizenship of our citizens, that we champion them in the full exercise of these rights as against any foreign power that interferes with them, and that in return we hold them to a full accountability for the exercise of these rights in the sole interest of the United States as against any foreign power which claims any allegiance whatsoever from them.

X

MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS

On the 9th of May, 1915, two days after the *Lusitania* was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, I made the following statement in the press:

THE German submarines have established no effective blockade of the British and French coast lines. They have endeavored to prevent the access of French, British, and *neutral* ships to Britain and France by attacks upon them which defy every principle of international law as laid down in innumerable existing treaties, including The Hague conventions. Many of these attacks have represented pure piracy; and not a few of them have been accompanied by murder on an extended scale. In the case of the *Lusitania* the scale was so vast that the murder became wholesale.

A number of American ships had already been torpedoed in similar fashion. In two cases American lives were lost. When the *Lusitania* sank some twelve hundred non-combatants, men, women, and children, were drowned, and more than a hundred of these were Americans. Centuries have passed since any war-vessel of a civilized power has shown such ruthless brutality toward non-combatants, and especially toward women and children. The Moslem pirates of the Barbary coast behaved at times in similar fashion, until the civilized nations joined in suppressing them; and the other pirates who were outcasts from among these civilized nations also at one time perpetrated similar deeds, until

MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS

they were sunk or hung. But none of these old-time pirates committed murder on so vast a scale as in the case of the *Lusitania*.

The day after the tragedy the newspapers reported in one column that in Queenstown there lay by the score the bodies of women and children, some of the dead women still clasping the bodies of the little children they held in their arms when death overwhelmed them. In another column they reported the glee expressed by the Berlin journals at this "great victory of German naval policy." It was a victory over the defenseless and the unoffending, and its signs and trophies were the bodies of the murdered women and children.

Our treaties with Prussia in 1785, 1799, and 1828, still in force in this regard, provide that if one of the contracting parties should be at war with any other power the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted. Germany has treated this treaty as she has treated other scraps of paper.

But the offense goes far deeper than this. The action of the German submarines in the cases cited can be justified only by a plea which would likewise justify the wholesale poisoning of wells in the path of a hostile army, or the shipping of infected rags into the cities of a hostile country; a plea which would justify the torture of prisoners and the reduction of captured women to the slavery of concubinage. Those who advance such a plea will accept but one counter-plea—strength, the strength and courage of the just man armed.

When those who guide the military policy of a state hold up to the soldiers of their army the Huns, and the terror once caused by the Huns, for their imitation, they

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

thereby render themselves responsible for any Hunnish deed which may follow. The destruction of cities like Louvain and Dinant, the scientific vivisection of Belgium as a warning to other nations, the hideous wrongdoing to civilians, men, women, and children in Belgium and northern France, in order thereby to terrorize the civilian population—all these deeds, and those like them, done on the land, have now been paralleled by what has happened on the sea.

In the teeth of these things, we earn as a nation measureless scorn and contempt if we follow the lead of those who exalt peace above righteousness, if we heed the voices of those feeble folk who bleat to high heaven that there is peace when there is no peace. For many months our government has preserved between right and wrong a neutrality which would have excited the emulous admiration of Pontius Pilate—the arch-typical neutral of all time. We have urged as a justification for failing to do our duty in Mexico that to do so would benefit American dollars. Are we now to change faces and advance the supreme interest of American dollars as a justification for continuance in the refusal to do the duty imposed on us in connection with the World War?

Unless we act with immediate decision and vigor we shall have failed in the duty demanded by humanity at large, and demanded even more clearly by the self-respect of the American Republic.

We did not act with immediate decision and vigor. We did not act at all. The President immediately after the sinking made a speech in which occurred his sentence about our “being too proud to fight.” This was accepted, very properly, by foreign nations as the statement of our official head that we ranked in point of national spirit and power with China. I then published the following interview:

MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS

I think that China is entitled to draw all the comfort she can from this statement, and it would be well for the United States to ponder seriously what the effect upon China has been of managing her foreign affairs during the last fifteen years on the theory thus enunciated.

If the United States is satisfied with occupying some time in the future the precise international position that China now occupies, then the United States can afford to act on this theory. But it cannot so act if it desires to regain the position won for it under Washington and by the men who in the days of Abraham Lincoln wore the blue under Grant and the gray under Lee.

I very earnestly hope that the President will act promptly. The proper time for deliberation was prior to sending his message that our Government would hold Germany to a "strict accountability" if it did the things which it has now actually done.

The one hundred and fifty babies drowned on the *Lusitania*, the hundreds of women drowned with them—scores of these women and children being Americans—and the American ship, the *Gulflight*, which was torpedoed, offer an eloquent commentary on the actual working of the theory that it is not necessary to assert rights and that a policy of blood-and-iron can safely be met by a policy of milk-and-water.

I see it stated in the despatches from Washington that Germany now offers to stop the practice of murder on the high seas, committed in violation of the neutral rights she is pledged to preserve, if we will now abandon further neutral rights, which by her treaty she has solemnly pledged herself to see that we exercise without molestation.

Such a proposal is not even entitled to an answer.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

The manufacture and shipments of arms and ammunition to any belligerent is moral or immoral, according to the use to which the arms and munitions are to be put. If they are to be used to prevent the redress of hideous wrongs inflicted on Belgium then it is immoral to ship them. If they are to be used for the redress of those wrongs and the restoration of Belgium to her deeply wronged and unoffending people, then it is eminently moral to send them.

Without twenty-four hours' delay this country should and could take effective action. It should take possession of all the interned German ships, including the German war-ships, and hold them as a guaranty that ample satisfaction shall be given us. Furthermore it should declare that in view of Germany's murderous offenses against the rights of neutrals all commerce with Germany shall be forthwith forbidden and all commerce of every kind permitted and encouraged with France, England, Russia, and the rest of the civilized world.

I do not believe that the firm assertion of our rights means war, but, in any event, it is well to remember there are things worse than war.

Let us as a nation understand that peace is worth having only when it is the handmaiden of international righteousness and of national self-respect.

XI

THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES *

EVEN to nerves dulled and jaded by the heaped-up horrors of the past year and a half, the news of the terrible fate that has befallen the Armenians must give a fresh shock of sympathy and indignation. Let me emphatically point out that the sympathy is useless unless it is accompanied with indignation, and that the indignation is useless if it exhausts itself in words instead of taking shape in deeds.

If this people through its government had not shirked its duty in Mexico for the last five years, and if this people through its government had not shirked its duty in connection with the World War for the last sixteen months, we would now be able to take effective action on behalf of Armenia. Mass-meetings on behalf of the Armenians amount to nothing whatever if they are mere methods of giving a sentimental but ineffective and safe outlet to the emotion of those engaged in them. Indeed they amount to less than nothing. The habit of giving emotional expression to feelings without following the expression by action is in the end thoroughly detrimental both to the will-power and to the morality of the persons concerned. As long as this government proceeds, whether as regards Mexico or as regards Germany, whether as regards the European War or as regards Belgium, on the principles of the peace-at-any-price men, of the professional pacifists, just so long it

* Letter addressed to Samuel T. Dutton, chairman of the Committee on the Armenian Outrages. Dated, November 24, 1915.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

will be as absolutely ineffective for international righteousness as China itself. The men who act on the motto of "safety first" are acting on a motto which could be appropriately used by the men on a sinking steamer who jump into the boats ahead of the women and children—and who at least do not commemorate this fact by wearing buttons with "safety first" on them as a device. Until we put honor and duty first, and are willing to risk something in order to achieve righteousness both for ourselves and for others, we shall accomplish nothing; and we shall earn and deserve the contempt of the strong nations of mankind.

One reason why I do not wish to take part in a mass-meeting only for the denunciation of the atrocities committed on the Armenians is because there are ignoble souls who have preached professional pacifism as a creed, or who have refused to attend similar meetings on behalf of the Belgians, who yet do not fear to take such action on behalf of the Armenians—for the simple reason that there is in America no Turkish vote, and because Turkey is not our neighbor as Mexico is, and not a formidable aggressive power like Germany, and so it is safe both politically and materially to denounce her. The American professional pacifists, the American men and women of the peace-at-any-price type, who join in meetings to "denounce war" or with empty words "protest" on behalf of the Armenians or other tortured and ruined peoples carry precisely the weight that an equal number of Chinese pacifists would carry if at a similar meeting they went through similar antics in Peking. They do not wear pigtailed; but it is to be regretted that they do not carry some similar outward and visible sign of their inward and spiritual disgrace. They accomplish nothing for peace; and they do ac-

THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES

compish something against justice. They do harm instead of good; and they deeply discredit the nation to which they belong. It was announced the other day, by certain politicians interested in securing votes, that at the end of the war this government would "insist" on Russia and Roumania doing justice to all Jews. The conduct of this government during the present war, and its utter refusal to back words with deeds, has made it utterly unable to "insist" on anything of the kind, whether as regards Russia or Roumania or any other power. A nation too timid to protect its own men, women, and children from murder and outrage and too timid even to speak on behalf of Belgium, will not carry much weight by "protest" or "insistence" on behalf of the suffering Jews and Armenians. Foreign powers will attribute such "protests" or "insistence," coupled with our failure to act in cases of other nationalities, merely to the fact that there is in this country neither a Russian nor a Turkish vote—and will despise us accordingly.

All of the terrible iniquities of the past year and a half, including this crowning iniquity of the wholesale slaughter of the Armenians, can be traced directly to the initial wrong committed on Belgium by her invasion and subjugation; and the criminal responsibility of Germany must be shared by the neutral powers, headed by the United States, for their failure to protest when this initial wrong was committed. In the case of the United States additional responsibility rests upon it because its lack of influence for justice and peace during the last sixteen months has been largely due to the course of timid and unworthy abandonment of duty which it has followed for nearly five years as regards Mexico. Scores of our soldiers have been killed and wounded, hundreds

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

of our civilians, both men and women, have been murdered or outraged in person or property, by the Mexicans; and we have not only taken no action but have permitted arms to be exported to the bandits who were cutting one another's throats in Mexico and who used these arms to kill Americans; and although we have refused to help our own citizens against any of the chiefs of these bandits, we have now and then improperly helped one chief against another. The failure to do our duty in Mexico created the contempt which made Germany rightfully think it safe to go into the wholesale murder that accompanied the sinking of the *Lusitania*; and the failure to do our duty in the case of the *Lusitania* made Germany, acting through Austria, rightfully think it safe to go into the wholesale murder that marked the sinking of the *Ancona*.

The invasion of Belgium was followed by a policy of terrorism toward the Belgian population, the shooting of men, women, and children, the destruction of Dinant and Louvain, and many other places; the bombardment of unfortified places, not only by ships and by land-forces but by aircraft, resulting in the killing of many hundreds of civilians, men, women, and children, in England, France, Belgium, and Italy; in the destruction of mighty temples and great monuments of art, in Rheims, in Venice, in Verona. The devastation of Poland and of Serbia has been awful beyond description and has been associated with infamies surpassing those of the dreadful religious and racial wars of seventeenth-century Europe. Such deeds as have been done by the nominally Christian powers in Europe, from the invasion of Belgium by Germany to the killing of Miss Cavell by the German Government, things done wholesale, things done retail, have been such as we had hoped

THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES

would never again occur in civilized warfare. They are far worse than anything that has occurred in such warfare since the close of the Napoleonic contests a century ago. Such a deed as the execution of Miss Cavell, for instance, would have been utterly impossible in the days of the worst excitement during our Civil War. For all of this, the pacifists who dare not speak for righteousness, and who possess such an unpleasant and evil prominence in the United States, must share the responsibility with the most brutal type of militarists. The weak and timid milk-and-water policy of the professional pacifists is just as responsible as the blood-and-iron policy of the ruthless and unscrupulous militarist for the terrible recrudescence of evil on a gigantic scale in the civilized world.

The crowning outrage has been committed by the Turks on the Armenians. They have suffered atrocities so hideous that it is difficult to name them, atrocities such as those inflicted upon conquered nations by the followers of Attila and of Genghis Khan. It is dreadful to think that these things can be done and that this nation nevertheless remains "neutral not only in deed but in thought," between right and the most hideous wrong, neutral between despairing and hunted people, people whose little children are murdered and their women raped, and the victorious and evil wrong-doers.

There are many sincere and wise men in China who are now endeavoring to lift China from the old conditions. These old conditions made her the greatest example of a pacifistic, peace-at-any-price, non-militaristic people. Because of their cult of pacifism, the Chinese, like the Koreans, and utterly unlike the Japanese, became absolutely powerless to defend themselves, or to win or retain the respect of other nations. They were

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

also of course utterly helpless to work for the good of others. The professional pacifists of the United States are seeking to make the United States follow in the footsteps of China. They represent what has been on the whole the most evil influence at work in the United States for the last fifty years; and for five years they have in international affairs shaped our governmental policy. These men, whether politicians, publicists, college presidents, capitalists, labor leaders, or self-styled philanthropists, have done everything they could to relax the fibre of the American character and weaken the strength of the American will. They teach our people to seek that debasing security which is to be found in love of ease, in fear of risk, in the craven effort to avoid any duty that is hard or hazardous—a security which purchases peace in the present not only at the cost of humiliation in the present but at the cost of disaster in the future. They are seeking to Chinafy this country. In so doing they not only make us work for our own undoing, and for the ultimate ruin of the great democratic experiment for which our great American Republic stands; but they also render us utterly powerless to work for others. We have refused to do our duty by Belgium; we refuse to do our duty by Armenia; because we have deified peace at any price, because we have preached and practised that evil pacifism which is the complement to and the encouragement of alien militarism. Such pacifism puts peace above righteousness, and safety in the present above both duty in the present and safety in the future.

I trust that all Americans worthy of the name feel their deepest indignation and keenest sympathy aroused by the dreadful Armenian atrocities. I trust that they feel in the same way about the ruin of Belgium's na-

THE ARMENIAN OUTRAGES

tionality, and realize that a peace obtained without restoring Belgium to its own people and righting the wrongs of the Armenians would be worse than any war. I trust they realize that unless America prepares to defend itself she can perform no duty to others; and under such circumstances she earns only derision if she prattles about forming a league for world peace, or about arbitration treaties and disarmament proposals, and commission-investigation treaties such as the unspeakably foolish ones negotiated a year or two ago at Washington and promptly disregarded by the very Administration that negotiated them.

Let us realize that the words of the weakling and the coward, of the pacifist and the poltroon, are worthless to stop wrong-doing. Wrong-doing will only be stopped by men who are brave as well as just, who put honor above safety, who are true to a lofty ideal of duty, who prepare in advance to make their strength effective, and who shrink from no hazard, not even the final hazard of war, if necessary in order to serve the great cause of righteousness. When our people take this stand, we shall also be able effectively to take a stand in international matters which shall prevent such cataclysms of wrong as have been witnessed in Belgium and on an even greater scale in Armenia.

XII

AMERICANISM *

FOUR centuries and a quarter have gone by since Columbus by discovering America opened the greatest era in world history. Four centuries have passed since the Spaniards began that colonization on the mainland which has resulted in the growth of the nations of Latin America. Three centuries have passed since, with the settlements on the coasts of Virginia and Massachusetts, the real history of what is now the United States began. All this we ultimately owe to the action of an Italian seaman in the service of a Spanish king and a Spanish queen. It is eminently fitting that one of the largest and most influential social organizations of this great Republic—a Republic in which the tongue is English, and the blood derived from many sources—should, in its name, commemorate the great Italian. It is eminently fitting to make an address on Americanism before this society.

We of the United States need above all things to remember that, while we are by blood and culture kin to each of the nations of Europe, we are also separate from each of them. We are a new and distinct nationality. We are developing our own distinctive culture and civilization, and the worth of this civilization will largely depend upon our determination to keep it distinctively our own. Our sons and daughters should be educated

* Address delivered before the Knights of Columbus, Carnegie Hall, New York, Oct. 12, 1915.

AMERICANISM

here and not abroad. We should freely take from every other nation whatever we can make of use, but we should adopt and develop to our own peculiar needs what we thus take, and never be content merely to copy.

Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These principles are that each man is to be treated on his worth as a man without regard to the land from which his forefathers came and without regard to the creed which he professes. If the United States proves false to these principles of civil and religious liberty, it will have inflicted the greatest blow on the system of free popular government that has ever been inflicted. Here we have had a virgin continent on which to try the experiment of making out of divers race stocks a new nation and of treating all the citizens of that nation in such a fashion as to preserve them equality of opportunity in industrial, civil, and political life. Our duty is to secure each man against any injustice by his fellows.

One of the most important things to secure for him is the right to hold and to express the religious views that best meet his own soul needs. Any political movement directed against any body of our fellow citizens because of their religious creed is a grave offense against American principles and American institutions. It is a wicked thing either to support or to oppose a man because of the creed he professes. This applies to Jew and Gentile, to Catholic and Protestant, and to the man who would be regarded as unorthodox by all of them alike. Political movements directed against certain men because of their religious belief, and intended to prevent men of that creed from holding office, have never accomplished anything but harm. This was true

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

in the days of the "Know-Nothing" and Native-American parties in the middle of the last century; and it is just as true to-day. Such a movement directly contravenes the spirit of the Constitution itself. Washington and his associates believed that it was essential to the existence of this Republic that there should never be any union of Church and State; and such union is partially accomplished wherever a given creed is aided by the State or when any public servant is elected or defeated because of his creed. The Constitution explicitly forbids the requiring of any religious test as a qualification for holding office. To impose such a test by popular vote is as bad as to impose it by law. To vote either for or against a man because of his creed is to impose upon him a religious test and is a clear violation of the spirit of the Constitution.

Moreover, it is well to remember that these movements never achieve the end they nominally have in view. They do nothing whatsoever except to increase among the men of the various churches the spirit of sectarian intolerance which is base and unlovely in any civilization but which is utterly revolting among a free people that profess the principles we profess. No such movement can ever permanently succeed here. All that it does is for a decade or so greatly to increase the spirit of theological animosity, both among the people to whom it appeals and among the people whom it assails. Furthermore, it has in the past invariably resulted, in so far as it was successful at all, in putting unworthy men into office; for there is nothing that a man of loose principles and of evil practices in public life so desires as the chance to distract attention from his own shortcomings and misdeeds by exciting and inflaming theological and sectarian prejudice.

AMERICANISM

We must recognize that it is a cardinal sin against democracy to support a man for public office because he belongs to a given creed or to oppose him because he belongs to a given creed. It is just as evil as to draw the line between class and class, between occupation and occupation in political life. No man who tries to draw either line is a good American. True Americanism demands that we judge each man on his conduct, that we so judge him in private life and that we so judge him in public life. The line of cleavage drawn on principle and conduct in public affairs is never in any healthy community identical with the line of cleavage between creed and creed or between class and class. On the contrary, where the community life is healthy, these lines of cleavage almost always run nearly at right angles to one another. It is eminently necessary to all of us that we should have able and honest public officials in the nation, in the city, in the State. If we make a serious and resolute effort to get such officials of the right kind, men who shall not only be honest but shall be able and shall take the right view of public questions, we will find as a matter of fact that the men we thus choose will be drawn from the professors of every creed and from among men who do not adhere to any creed.

For thirty-five years I have been more or less actively engaged in public life, in the performance of my political duties, now in a public position, now in a private position. I have fought with all the fervor I possessed for the various causes in which with all my heart I believed; and in every fight I thus made I have had with me and against me Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. There have been times when I have had to make the fight for or against some man of each creed on grounds of plain public morality, unconnected with questions of

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

public policy. There were other times when I have made such a fight for or against a given man, not on grounds of public morality, for he may have been morally a good man, but on account of his attitude on questions of public policy, of governmental principle. In both cases, I have always found myself fighting beside, and fighting against, men of every creed. The one sure way to have secured the defeat of every good principle worth fighting for would have been to have permitted the fight to be changed into one along sectarian lines and inspired by the spirit of sectarian bitterness, either for the purpose of putting into public life or of keeping out of public life the believers in any given creed. Such conduct represents an assault upon Americanism. The man guilty of it is not a good American.

I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of Church and State; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed; and therefore that the public schools shall be non-sectarian and no public moneys appropriated for sectarian schools. As a necessary corollary to this, not only the pupils but the members of the teaching force and the school officials of all kinds must be treated exactly on a par, no matter what their creed; and there must be no more discrimination against Jew or Catholic or Protestant than discrimination in favor of Jew, Catholic, or Protestant. Whoever makes such discrimination is an enemy of the public schools.

What is true of creed is no less true of nationality. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated

AMERICANISM

American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who puts "native" before the hyphen as of the man who puts German or Irish or English or French before the hyphen. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as any one else.

The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans; and there ought to be no room for them in this country. The man who calls himself an American citizen and who yet shows by his actions that he is primarily the citizen of a foreign land, plays a thoroughly mischievous part in the life of our body politic. He has no place here; and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the better it will be for every good American. There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.

I appeal to history. Among the generals of Washington in the Revolutionary War were Greene, Putnam,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and Lee, who were of English descent; Wayne and Sullivan, who were of Irish descent; Marion, who was of French descent; Schuyler, who was of Dutch descent; and Muhlenberg and Herkimer, who were of German descent. But they were all of them Americans and nothing else, just as much as Washington. Carroll of Carrollton was a Catholic; Hancock a Protestant; Jefferson was heterodox from the standpoint of any orthodox creed; but these and all the other signers of the Declaration of Independence stood on an equality of duty and right and liberty, as Americans and nothing else.

So it was in the Civil War. Farragut's father was born in Spain and Sheridan's father in Ireland; Sherman and Thomas were of English and Custer of German descent; and Grant came of a long line of American ancestors whose original home had been Scotland. But the admiral was not a Spanish-American; and the generals were not Scotch-Americans or Irish-Americans or English-Americans or German-Americans. They were all Americans and nothing else. This was just as true of Lee and of Stonewall Jackson and of Beauregard.

When in 1909 our battle fleet returned from its voyage around the world, Admirals Wainwright and Schroeder represented the best traditions and the most efficient action in our navy; one was of old American blood and of English descent; the other was the son of German immigrants. But one was not a native-American and the other a German-American. Each was an American pure and simple. Each bore allegiance only to the flag of the United States. Each would have been incapable of considering the interests of Germany or of England or of any other country except the United States.

To take charge of the most important work under my

AMERICANISM

Administration, the building of the Panama Canal, I chose General Goethals. Both of his parents were born in Holland. But he was just plain United States. He wasn't a Dutch-American; if he had been I wouldn't have appointed him. So it was with such men, among those who served under me, as Admiral Osterhaus and General Barry. The father of one was born in Germany, the father of the other in Ireland. But they were both Americans, pure and simple, and first-rate fighting men in addition.

In my Cabinet at the time there were men of English and French, German, Irish, and Dutch blood, men born on this side and men born in Germany and Scotland; but they were all Americans and nothing else; and every one of them was incapable of thinking of himself or of his fellow countrymen, excepting in terms of American citizenship. If any one of them had anything in the nature of a dual or divided allegiance in his soul, he never would have been appointed to serve under me, and he would have been instantly removed when the discovery was made. There wasn't one of them who was capable of desiring that the policy of the United States should be shaped with reference to the interests of any foreign country or with consideration for anything, outside of the general welfare of humanity, save the honor and interest of the United States, and each was incapable of making any discrimination whatsoever among the citizens of the country he served, of our common country, save discrimination based on conduct and on conduct alone.

For an American citizen to vote as a German-American, an Irish-American, or an English-American is to be a traitor to American institutions; and those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

threats of the foreign vote are engaged in treason to the American Republic.

Now this is a declaration of principles. How are we in practical fashion to secure the making of these principles part of the very fibre of our national life? First and foremost let us all resolve that in this country hereafter we shall place far less emphasis upon the question of right and much greater emphasis upon the matter of duty. A republic can't succeed and won't succeed in the tremendous international stress of the modern world unless its citizens possess that form of high-minded patriotism which consists in putting devotion to duty before the question of individual rights. This must be done in our family relations or the family will go to pieces; and no better tract for family life in this country can be imagined than the little story called "Mother," written by an American woman, Kathleen Norris, who happens to be a member of your own church.

What is true of the family, the foundation-stone of our national life, is not less true of the entire superstructure. I am, as you know, a most ardent believer in national preparedness against war as a means of securing that honorable and self-respecting peace which is the only peace desired by all high-spirited people. But it is an absolute impossibility to secure such preparedness in full and proper form if it is an isolated feature of our policy. The lamentable fate of Belgium has shown that no justice in legislation or success in business will be of the slightest avail if the nation has not prepared in advance the strength to protect its rights. But it is equally true that there cannot be this preparation in advance for military strength unless there is a solid basis of civil and social life behind it. There must be social, economic, and military preparedness all

AMERICANISM

alike, all harmoniously developed; and above all there must be spiritual and mental preparedness.

There must be not merely preparedness in things material; there must be preparedness in soul and mind. To prepare a great army and navy without preparing a proper national spirit would avail nothing. And if there is not only a proper national spirit but proper national intelligence, we shall realize that even from the standpoint of the army and navy some civil preparedness is indispensable. For example, a plan for national defense which does not include the most far-reaching use and co-operation of our railroads must prove largely futile. These railroads are organized in time of peace. But we must have the most carefully thought-out organization from the national and centralized standpoint in order to use them in time of war. This means first that those in charge of them from the highest to the lowest must understand their duty in time of war, must be permeated with the spirit of genuine patriotism; and second, that they and we shall understand that efficiency is as essential as patriotism; one is useless without the other.

Again: every citizen should be trained sedulously by every activity at our command to realize his duty to the nation. In France at this moment the working men who are not at the front are spending all their energies with the single thought of helping their brethren at the front by what they do in the munition plants, on the railroads, in the factories. It is a shocking, a lamentable thing that many of the trade-unions of England have taken a directly opposite view. It is doubtless true that many of their employers have made excessive profits out of war conditions; and the government should have drastically controlled and minimized such profit-mak-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

ing. Such wealthy men should be dealt with in radical fashion; but their misconduct doesn't excuse the misconduct of those labor men who are trying to make gains at the cost of their brethren who fight in the trenches. The thing for us Americans to realize is that we must do our best to prevent similar conditions from growing up here. Business men, professional men, and wage-workers alike must understand that there should be no question of their enjoying any rights whatsoever unless in the fullest way they recognize and live up to the duties that go with those rights. This is just as true of the corporation as of the trade-union, and if either corporation or trade-union fails heartily to acknowledge this truth, then its activities are necessarily anti-social and detrimental to the welfare of the body politic as a whole. In war-time, when the welfare of the nation is at stake, it should be accepted as axiomatic that the employer is to make no profit out of the war save that which is necessary to the efficient running of the business and to the living expenses of himself and family, and that the wage-worker is to treat his wage from exactly the same standpoint and is to see to it that the labor organization to which he belongs is, in all its activities, subordinated to the service of the nation.

Now there must be some application of this spirit in times of peace or we cannot suddenly develop it in time of war. The strike situation in the United States at this time is a scandal to the country as a whole and discreditable alike to employer and employee. Any employer who fails to recognize that human rights come first and that the friendly relationship between himself and those working for him should be one of partnership and comradeship in mutual help no less than self-help is recreant to his duty as an American citizen and it is to his

AMERICANISM

interest, having in view the enormous destruction of life in the present war, to conserve, and to train to higher efficiency alike for his benefit and for its, the labor supply. In return any employee who acts along the lines publicly advocated by the men who profess to speak for the I. W. W. is not merely an open enemy of business but of this entire country and is out of place in our government.

You, Knights of Columbus, are particularly fitted to play a great part in the movement for national solidarity, without which there can be no real efficiency in either peace or war. During the last year and a quarter it has been brought home to us in startling fashion that many of the elements of our nation are not yet properly fused. It ought to be a literally appalling fact that members of two of the foreign embassies in this country have been discovered to be implicated in inciting their fellow countrymen, whether naturalized American citizens or not, to the destruction of property and the crippling of American industries that are operating in accordance with internal law and international agreement. The malign activity of one of these embassies, the Austrian, has been brought home directly to the ambassador in such shape that his recall has been forced. The activities of the other, the German, have been set forth in detail by the publication in the press of its letters in such fashion as to make it perfectly clear that they were of the same general character. Of course, the two embassies were merely carrying out the instructions of their home governments.

Nor is it only the Germans and Austrians who take the view that as a matter of right they can treat their countrymen resident in America, even if naturalized citizens of the United States, as their allies and subjects

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

to be used in keeping alive separate national groups profoundly anti-American in sentiment if the contest comes between American interests and those of foreign lands in question. It has recently been announced that the Russian Government is to rent a house in New York as a national centre to be Russian in faith and patriotism, to foster the Russian language and keep alive the national feeling in immigrants who come hither. All of this is utterly antagonistic to proper American sentiment, whether perpetrated in the name of Germany, of Austria, of Russia, of England, or France, or any other country.

We should meet this situation by on the one hand seeing that these immigrants get all their rights as American citizens, and on the other hand insisting that they live up to their duties as American citizens. Any discrimination against aliens is a wrong, for it tends to put the immigrant at a disadvantage and to cause him to feel bitterness and resentment during the very years when he should be preparing himself for American citizenship. If an immigrant is not fit to become a citizen, he should not be allowed to come here. If he is fit, he should be given all the rights to earn his own livelihood, and to better himself, that any man can have. Take such a matter as the illiteracy test; I entirely agree with those who feel that many very excellent possible citizens would be barred improperly by an illiteracy test. But why do you not admit aliens under a bond to learn to read and write English within a certain time? It would then be a duty to see that they were given ample opportunity to learn to read and write and that they were deported if they failed to take advantage of the opportunity. No man can be a good citizen if he is not at least in process of learning to speak the language of his

AMERICANISM

fellow citizens. And an alien who remains here without learning to speak English for more than a certain number of years should at the end of that time be treated as having refused to take the preliminary steps necessary to complete Americanization and should be deported. But there should be no denial or limitation of the alien's opportunity to work, to own property, and to take advantage of civic opportunities. Special legislation should deal with the aliens who do not come here to be made citizens. But the alien who comes here intending to become a citizen should be helped in every way to advance himself, should be removed from every possible disadvantage, and in return should be required, under penalty of being sent back to the country from which he came, to prove that he is in good faith fitting himself to be an American citizen. We should set a high standard, and insist on men reaching it; but if they do reach it we should treat them as on a full equality with ourselves.

Therefore, we should devote ourselves as a preparative to preparedness, alike in peace and war, to secure the three elemental things: one, a common language, the English language; two, the increase in our social loyalty—citizenship absolutely undivided, a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of national loyalty; and third, an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally to secure every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all.

The American people should itself do these things for the immigrants. If we leave the immigrant to be

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

helped by representatives of foreign governments, by foreign societies, by a press and institutions conducted in a foreign language and in the interest of foreign governments, and if we permit the immigrants to exist as alien groups, each group sundered from the rest of the citizens of the country, we shall store up for ourselves bitter trouble in the future.

I am certain that the only permanently safe attitude for this country as regards national preparedness for self-defense is along the lines of obligatory universal service on the Swiss model. Switzerland is the most democratic of nations. Its army is the most democratic army in the world. There isn't a touch of militarism or aggressiveness about Switzerland. It has been found as a matter of actual practical experience in Switzerland that the universal military training has made a very marked increase in social efficiency and in the ability of the man thus trained to do well for himself in industry. The man who has received the training is a better citizen, is more self-respecting, more orderly, better able to hold his own, and more willing to respect the rights of others, and at the same time he is a more valuable and better-paid man in his business. We need that the navy and the army should be greatly increased and that their efficiency as units and in the aggregate should be increased to an even greater degree than their numbers. An adequate regular reserve should be established. Economy should be insisted on, and first of all in the abolition of useless army posts and navy-yards. The National Guard should be supervised and controlled by the Federal War Department. Training-camps such as at Plattsburg should be provided on a nation-wide basis and the government should pay the expenses. Foreign-born as well as native-born citizens should be brought

AMERICANISM

together in those camps; and each man at the camp should take the oath of allegiance as unreservedly and unqualifiedly as the men of the Regular Army and Navy now take it. Not only should battleships, battle-cruisers, submarines, aircraft, ample coast and field-artillery be provided and a greater ammunition-supply system, but there should be a utilization of those engaged in such professions as the ownership and management of motor-cars, aviation, and the profession of engineering. Map-making and road improvement should be attended to, and, as I have already said, the railroads brought into intimate touch with the War Department. Moreover, the government should deal with conservation of all necessary war-supplies such as mine products, potash, oil lands, and the like. Furthermore, all munition plants should be carefully surveyed with special reference to their geographic distribution. Provision should be made for munition and supply factories west of the Alleghenies. Finally, remember that the men must be sedulously trained in peace to use this material or we shall merely prepare our ships, guns, and products as gifts to the enemy. All of these things should be done in any event. But let us never forget that the most important of all things is to introduce universal military service.

Let me repeat that this preparedness against war must be based upon efficiency and justice in the handling of ourselves in time of peace. If belligerent governments, while we are not hostile to them but merely neutral, strive nevertheless to make of this nation many nations, each hostile to the others and none of them loyal to the central government, then it may be accepted as certain that they would do far worse to us in time of war. If Germany and Austria encourage strikes and

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

sabotage in our munition plants while we are neutral it may be accepted as axiomatic that they would do far worse to us if we were hostile. It is our duty from the standpoint of self-defense to secure the complete Americanization of our people; to make of the many peoples of this country a united nation, one in speech and feeling, and all, so far as possible, sharers in the best that each has brought to our shores.

The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population—no other kind can fight the battles of America either in war or peace. It must talk the language of its native-born fellow citizens, it must possess American citizenship and American ideals—and therefore we native-born citizens must ourselves practise a high and fine idealism, and shun as we would the plague the sordid materialism which treats pecuniary profit and gross bodily comfort as the only evidences of success. It must stand firm by its oath of allegiance in word and deed and must show that in very fact it has renounced allegiance to every prince, potentate, or foreign government. It must be maintained on an American standard of living so as to prevent labor disturbances in important plants and at critical times. None of these objects can be secured as long as we have immigrant colonies, ghettos, and immigrant sections, and above all they cannot be assured so long as we consider the immigrant only as an industrial asset. The immigrant must not be allowed to drift or to be put at the mercy of the exploiter. Our object is not to imitate one of the older racial types, but to maintain a new American type and then to secure loyalty to this type. We cannot secure such loyalty unless we make this a country where men shall feel that they have justice and also where they shall feel that they are required to per-

AMERICANISM

form the duties imposed upon them. The policy of "Let alone" which we have hitherto pursued is thoroughly vicious from two standpoints. By this policy we have permitted the immigrants, and too often the native-born laborers as well, to suffer injustice. Moreover, by this policy we have failed to impress upon the immigrant and upon the native-born as well that they are expected to do justice as well as to receive justice, that they are expected to be heartily and actively and single-mindedly loyal to the flag no less than to benefit by living under it.

We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces any more than fifty years ago we could afford to keep the black man merely as an industrial asset and not as a human being. We cannot afford to build a big industrial plant and herd men and women about it without care for their welfare. We cannot afford to permit squalid overcrowding or the kind of living system which makes impossible the decencies and necessities of life. We cannot afford the low wage rates and the merely seasonal industries which mean the sacrifice of both individual and family life and morals to the industrial machinery. We cannot afford to leave American mines, munition plants, and general resources in the hands of alien workmen, alien to America and even likely to be made hostile to America by machinations such as have recently been provided in the case of the above-named foreign embassies in Washington. We cannot afford to run the risk of having in time of war men working on our railways or working in our munition plants who would in the name of duty to their own foreign countries bring destruction to us. Recent events have shown us that incitements to

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

sabotage and strikes are in the view of at least two of the great foreign powers of Europe within their definition of neutral practices. What would be done to us in the name of war if these things are done to us in the name of neutrality?

Justice Dowling in his speech has described the excellent fourth degree of your order, of how in it you dwell upon duties rather than rights, upon the great duties of patriotism and of national spirit. It is a fine thing to have a society that holds up such a standard of duty. I ask you to make a special effort to deal with Americanization, the fusing into one nation, a nation necessarily different from all other nations, of all who come to our shores. Pay heed to the three principal essentials: (1) The need of a common language, English, with a minimum amount of illiteracy; (2) the need of a common civil standard, similar ideals, beliefs, and customs symbolized by the oath of allegiance to America; and (3) the need of a high standard of living, of reasonable equality of opportunity, and of social and industrial justice. In every great crisis in our history, in the Revolution and in the Civil War, and in the lesser crises, like the Spanish War, all factions and races have been forgotten in the common spirit of Americanism. Protestant and Catholic, men of English or of French, of Irish or of German, descent have joined with a single-minded purpose to secure for the country what only can be achieved by the resultant union of all patriotic citizens. You of this organization have done a great service by your insistence that citizens should pay heed first of all to their duties. Hitherto undue prominence has been given to the question of rights. Your organization is a splendid engine for giving to the stranger within our gates a high conception of American citizen-

AMERICANISM

ship. Strive for unity. We suffer at present from a lack of leadership in these matters.

Even in the matter of national defense there is such a labyrinth of committees and counsels and advisers that there is a tendency on the part of the average citizen to become confused and do nothing. I ask you to help strike the note that shall unite our people. As a people we must be united. If we are not united we shall slip into the gulf of measureless disaster. We must be strong in purpose for our own defense and bent on securing justice within our borders. If as a nation we are split into warring camps, if we teach our citizens not to look upon one another as brothers but as enemies divided by the hatred of creed for creed or of those of one race against those of another race, surely we shall fail and our great democratic experiment on this continent will go down in crushing overthrow. I ask you here tonight and those like you to take a foremost part in the movement—a young men's movement—for a greater and better America in the future.

All of us, no matter from what land our parents came, no matter in what way we may severally worship our Creator, must stand shoulder to shoulder in a united America for the elimination of race and religious prejudice. We must stand for a reign of equal justice to both big and small. We must insist on the maintenance of the American standard of living. We must stand for an adequate national control which shall secure a better training of our young men in time of peace, both for the work of peace and for the work of war. We must direct every national resource, material and spiritual, to the task not of shirking difficulties, but of training our people to overcome difficulties. Our aim must be, not to make life easy and soft, not to soften soul and body,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

but to fit us in virile fashion to do a great work for all mankind. This great work can only be done by a mighty democracy, with those qualities of soul, guided by those qualities of mind, which will both make it refuse to do injustice to any other nation, and also enable it to hold its own against aggression by any other nation. In our relations with the outside world, we must abhor wrong-doing, and disdain to commit it, and we must no less disdain the baseness of spirit which tamely submits to wrong-doing. Finally, and most important of all, we must strive for the establishment within our own borders of that stern and lofty standard of personal and public morality which shall guarantee to each man his rights, and which shall insist in return upon the full performance by each man of his duties both to his neighbor and to the great nation whose flag must symbolize in the future as it has symbolized in the past the highest hopes of all mankind.

XIII

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

JAPAN is indeed a wonderful land. Nothing in history has quite paralleled her rise during the last fifty years. Her progress has been remarkable alike in war, in industry, in statesmanship, in science. Her admirals and generals, her statesmen and administrators, have accomplished feats with which only the greatest feats of the picked men of corresponding position in Europe and the two Americas during the same time can be compared—and in order to match in the aggregate these great men of a single island nation, more than one of the countries of the Occident must be drawn on.

Among the Japanese administrators of high note is Count Terauchi, and among Japan's many feats of consequence is her administration of Korea. Count Terauchi is the governor-general of Korea—Chosen, as the Japanese term it—and he has just compiled and published at Seoul (Keijo) a report on the "Reform and Progress in Chosen" for the years 1912-13. It is in English; and no book of the kind recently issued is better worth the study of statesmen and of scholars interested in every kind of social reform. Moreover, its study is of capital consequence from the standpoint of those who recognize the importance of bringing home to our people the knowledge of the admirable and masterly achievements of the Japanese in the difficult task of colonial administration.

In its essence the work that has been done in Korea under Count Terauchi is like that done under similar

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

conditions by the chief colonial administrators of the United States, England, France, and Germany. Korea as an independent nation could not keep order at home and was powerless to strike an effective blow on her own behalf when assailed from abroad. She had been dominated by Russia, so that all obligations of foreign powers to help her keep her independence had lapsed long before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War; and under the circumstances her subsequent domination, and, in 1910, her final annexation by Japan was inevitable. The Japanese have restored and enforced order, built roads and railways, carried out great engineering works, introduced modern sanitation, introduced a modern school system, and doubled the commerce and the agricultural output, substantially as the most advanced nations of Europe and America have done under like conditions. All of these matters and many others—such as the administration of justice, the founding of industrial and agricultural banks, the establishment of government experiment farms, the revenues, the government monopoly in ginseng and salt manufacture, the charitable institutions—are treated in full in the volume before me, and in addition to the letter-press there are numerous first-rate photographs.

One of the interesting touches in the book is that describing the way tourist parties of Koreans are formed to visit Japan and study its advanced systems of agriculture, industry, and education. The visits are generally timed so as to see a national or some local industrial exhibition. Tourist parties of Korean countrymen often visit the capital, Keijo, with a similar educational purpose. The Japanese are endeavoring to introduce their language, culture, and industry into the country, and are taking very practical steps to introduce the

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

Koreans to the high modern civilization of the new rulers of the land.

One of the great works done by the Japanese in Korea has been in reforesting the country. This has been carried on in the most scientific manner—a manner, I regret to say, smacking more of German efficiency than of any large-scale forestry process in our own country. Over five million trees have been planted, the best European models serving as examples. Arbor Day has been instituted, and is celebrated just as in various States of the American Union, the school-children being especially interested. But, with their usual wisdom and far-sighted, practical good sense, the Japanese officials not only adopt anything foreign that may be useful, but also develop anything native that can be made more useful. The provincial governments have devoted much energy to the revival of an ancient Korean guild, the Songkei, which had for its object the promoting of interest in pine forests. All kinds of interesting contrasts between the very old and the very new are brought out incidentally; as, for example, the trouble of the health authorities with the Korean “grave geomancers,” and their efforts to substitute the hygienic practice of cremation for burial.

An excellent instance of the kind of foresight which ought to be imitated in the United States is the action taken in protecting whales. Whaling on the east coast of Korea is very lucrative; but the whales have been overfished; and the government has now established a close season, has prohibited all whaling outside certain areas, has limited the number of vessels that can be employed, and has forbidden the capture of mother whales accompanied by their young.

All this of which I speak is only to indicate what the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

volume tells of Japanese administration in Korea. To describe it fully, and to comment on it with knowledge, would need an expert. I am writing as the merest layman. My purpose is simply to call attention to the matter. It is to be wished that the Japanese society would republish the volume and make it generally accessible.

But the chief lesson it teaches is one which by rights our people ought already to know well. Japan is as advanced and civilized a power as the United States or any power in Europe. She has as much to teach us as we have to teach her. In true patriotism—for there is no such thing as true patriotism that does not include eager and foresighted desire to make one's country able to defend herself against foreign attack—Japan is far ahead of us. There is no nation in the world more worthy of admiration and respect. There is no nation in the world with which it is more important that the United States should be on terms of cordial friendship and absolutely equal mutuality of respect.

Japan's whole sea-front, and her entire home maritime interest, bear on the Pacific; and of the other great nations of the earth the United States has the greatest proportion of her sea-front on, and the greatest proportion of her interest in, the Pacific. But there is not the slightest real or necessary conflict of interests between Japan and the United States in the Pacific. When compared with each other, the interest of Japan is overwhelmingly Asiatic, that of the United States overwhelmingly American. Relatively to each other, one is dominant in Asia, the other in North America. Neither has any desire, nor any excuse for desiring, to acquire territory on the other's continent. With the exception of the Philippines, which the present Administration

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

has definitely committed the United States to abandon in the near future, the insular possessions of each clearly appertain to their respective continents; Hawaii is almost as much American as Formosa is Asiatic. Neither has any interest in the Pacific Ocean itself except to keep it as a broad highway open to all. Each is a good customer of the other. Each has something to learn from and something to teach the other. Each has every interest in preserving the friendship of the other. For either to incur the hostility of the other would in the end turn out to be a folly, a calamity unrelieved by the slightest benefit. It may almost be said that the far-sightedness and intelligence of any citizen of either country can largely be measured by the friendly respect he feels and shows for the other country. Neither territorially, nor in commercial interest, nor in international rivalry, is there any excuse for clashing. The two nations should for all time work hand in hand.

The Japanese statesmen and leaders of thought are doing all they can to keep on the best possible footing with the United States. Although Japan was engaged in war she did everything in her power to make the California-Panama Exposition a success. Her exhibit was of peculiar importance, because the exhibits of most of the other great powers were greatly interfered with by the war.

Every consideration, permanent and temporary, makes the continuance of a good understanding between the two nations of capital importance. It is a grave offense against the United States for any man, by word or deed, to jeopardize this good understanding. To do so by the act of a State legislature is even graver. Any action by a State legislature touching on the rights of foreigners of any other nation should be taken with

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

extreme caution, or it may cause serious mischief. Such action cannot possibly have good effect on the only matter that can ever cause trouble between Japan and the United States—the settlement in mass by individuals of either nation within the limits of the other nation. Such immigration is the only thing that can ever cause trouble between these two peoples; and if permitted it is absolutely certain that the trouble will be caused. It can be dealt with only by the two national governments themselves.

All true friends of international good-will between the two countries, all men who recognize that good-will for the other should be a prime feature of the foreign policy of each, will face this fact and deal with it. The treatment of it should be on an absolutely reciprocal basis. Exactly the same types and classes should be admitted and excluded, in one country as in the other. Students, travellers, men engaged in international business, sojourners for scholarship, health, or pleasure, of either country ought to be welcomed in the other; and not thus to welcome them indicates defective civilization in the should-be hosts. But it is essentially to the interest of both that neither should admit the workers—industrial or agricultural or engaged in small trade—from the other, for neither country is yet ready to admit such settlement in mass, and nothing but grave harm can come from permitting it.

Instead of ignoring this fact, it would be better frankly to acknowledge and recognize it. It does not in any way imply any inferiority in either nation to the other; it merely connotes the acceptance of the truth that in international as in private affairs, it is well not to hurry matters that if unhurried will in the end come out all right. The astounding thing, the thing unprece-

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

dented in all history, is that two civilized peoples whose civilizations had developed for thousands of years on almost wholly independent lines, should within half a century grow so close together. Fifty years ago there was no intellectual or social community at all between the two nations. Nowadays, the man of broad cultivation, whether in statesmanship, science, art, or philosophy, who dwells in one country, is as much at home in the other as is a Russian in England, or a Spaniard in the United States, or an Italian in Sweden; the men of this type, whether Japanese or Europeans, or North or South Americans, are knit together in a kind of freemasonry of social and intellectual taste.

It is quite impossible that a movement like this shall be as rapid throughout all the classes of society as among the selected few. It has taken many centuries for Europeans to achieve a common standard such as to permit of the free immigration of the workers of one nation into another nation, and there is small cause for wonder in the fact that a few decades have been insufficient to bring it about between Japan and the American and Australian commonwealths. Japan would not, and could not, at this time afford to admit into competition with her own people masses of immigrants, industrial or agricultural workers, or miners or small tradesmen, from the United States. It would be equally unwise for the United States to admit similar groups from Japan. This does not mean that either side is inferior; it means that they are different.

Three or four centuries ago exactly the same thing was true as between and among the European countries from which the ancestors of the mixed people of the United States came. At that time English mobs killed and drove out Flemish and French working men;

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

Scotchmen would not tolerate the presence of Englishmen even in time of peace; Germans and Scandinavians met on terms of intimacy only when they fought one another; and Russians as immigrants in western Europe were quite as unthinkable as Tartars. Normally, no one of these nations would then have tolerated any immigration of the people of any other. Yet they were all of practically the same racial blood, and in essentials of the same ancestral culture, that of Græco-Roman Christianity. And their descendants not only now live side by side in the United States, but have merged into one people. What would have been ruinous even to attempt four centuries ago now seems entirely natural because it has gone on so slowly. To try to force the process with unnatural speed would have insured disaster, even after the upper classes of the countries concerned had already begun to mingle on a footing of equality.

Surely these obvious historical facts have their lesson for Japanese and American statesmen to-day. Three centuries ago the students, the writers, the educated and cultivated men in England and France (countries of equal, and practically the same, civilization) associated less intimately than the like men of America and Japan do to-day, and any attempt at immigration of the workers of one country into the other would have been met by immediate rioting. Time, and time alone, rendered possible the constantly closer association of the peoples. Time must be given the same chance now, in order to secure a lasting and firmly based friendship between the Japanese and the English-speaking peoples of America and Australia.

The volume which has served as a text for this article is only one additional proof of the way in which Japan has modernized and brought abreast of all modern needs

THE JAPANESE IN KOREA

her high and ancient civilization. She is already playing a very great part in the civilized world. She will play a still greater part in the future. It may well be that she will prove the regenerator of all eastern Asia. She and the United States have great interests on and in the Pacific. These interests in no way conflict. They can be served to best purpose for each nation by the heartiest and most friendly co-operation between them on a footing of absolute equality. There is but one real chance of friction. This should be eliminated, not by pretending to ignore facts, but by facing them with good-natured and courteous wisdom—for, as Emerson somewhere says, “in the long run the most unpleasant truth is a safer travelling companion than the most agreeable falsehood.” Each country should receive exactly the rights which it grants. Travellers, scholars, men engaged in international business, all sojourners for health, pleasure, and study, should be heartily welcomed in both countries. From neither country should there be any emigration of workers of any kind to, or any settlement in mass in, the other country.

XIV

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

IN 1903 a shameless and sordid attempt was made by the then dictator of Colombia and his subordinate fellow politicians at Bogotá to force the United States by scandalously improper tactics to pay a vastly larger sum for the privilege of building the Panama Canal than had been agreed upon in a solemn treaty. As President of the United States I resisted this attempt, and prevented the United States from being blackmailed. Had I not successfully resisted the attempt, the Panama Canal would not now be built, and would probably never have been built. The attempt was blackmail then; and to yield to it now is to yield to blackmail.

Yet the present Administration now proposes to pay Colombia twenty-five million dollars, and to make what is practically an apology for our conduct in acquiring the right to build the Canal. Apparently this is done on the theory of soothing the would-be blackmailers and making them forget the mortification caused them by the failure of their initial attempt to hold up the United States.

In brief, the facts in the case were as follows:

A private French company had attempted to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and had failed after making only a beginning of the work. Various propositions for a trans-Isthmian canal to be undertaken by the United States Government had been made.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

One of these was to cross the Isthmus at Darien. Another was a proposition to go through Nicaragua. Different companies had been organized in the United States to back these different propositions. One of these companies had ex-Senator Warner Miller at its head. The then Senator Platt of New York was much interested in another company. Congress only considered seriously, however, the Panama and Nicaragua routes, and was in much doubt between them. A commission of experts appointed by the President for that purpose had reported that if we could buy the rights of the French canal company for forty million dollars we ought to take the Panama route, but that otherwise we should take the Nicaragua route. It was at that time well and widely known that the sum of ten million dollars (aside from a small yearly payment to be made on different grounds) was all that we would pay or would be asked to pay Colombia, and Colombia herself had advertised this fact. The recommendation, therefore, was in effect that we should go by Panama if we could acquire our rights by paying forty million dollars to the French and ten million dollars to the Colombians.

The French had real rights. They had spent hundreds of millions of dollars, and although much of this had been wasted, yet we received at least forty million dollars' worth of property and of accomplished work for the forty million dollars we agreed to pay them. Colombia had no rights that were not of the most shadowy and unsubstantial kind; and even these shadowy rights existed only because of the action of the United States. She had done nothing whatever except to misgovern the Isthmus for fifty years. During these fifty years her possession of the Isthmus as against foreign powers had been maintained solely by the guaranty and the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

potential strength of the United States. The only effective policing of the Isthmus during those fifty years had been done by the United States on the frequent occasions when it was forced to land marines and sailors for that purpose. Ten million dollars represented the very outside limit which generosity could fix as a payment to Colombia for rights which she was impotent to maintain save by our assistance and protection, and for an opportunity which she was utterly unable herself to develop. Nobody of any consequence in the United States, within or without Congress, would at that time for one moment have considered agreeing to pay twenty-five million dollars or any sum remotely approaching it.

If Colombia had at that time announced any such demand, unquestionably the Congress of the United States would have directed the Executive to take the Nicaragua route. The exact language of Congress in its Act providing for the construction of the Canal, approved June 28, 1902, was that if "the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President" should endeavor to provide for a canal by the Nicaragua route.

This language defined with exactness and precision what was to be done, and what as a matter of fact I actually did. I was directed to take the Nicaragua route, but only if within a reasonable time I could not obtain control of the necessary territory of the republic of Colombia upon reasonable terms; the direction being explicit that if I could not thus get the control within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms I must go

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

to Nicaragua. Colombia showed by its actions that it was thoroughly acquainted with this fact, and eagerly demanded and entered into a treaty with the United States, the Hay-Herran treaty, under which ten million dollars was the price stipulated to be paid in exchange for our acquiring the right to the zone on which to build the Canal.

Let it be remembered that this ten million dollars was the price stipulated by Colombia herself as payment to those in possession of the Isthmus, and it was the price we actually did pay to those who actually were in possession of the Isthmus. The only difference was that, thanks to the most just and proper revolution which freed Panama from the intolerable oppression and wrong-doing of Colombia, we were able to give this ten million dollars to the men who themselves dwelt on the Isthmus, instead of to alien taskmasters and oppressors of theirs.

The proposal now is that after having paid ten million dollars to the rightful owners of the Isthmus we shall in addition pay twenty-five million dollars to their former taskmasters and oppressors; a sum two and a half times what these tricky oppressors originally asked, a sum which is to be paid to them merely because they failed in carrying to successful completion what must truthfully be characterized as a bit of international villainy as wicked as it was preposterous. In point of good sense and sound morality, the proposal is exactly on a par with paying a discomfited burglar a heavy sum for the damage done his feelings by detecting him and expelling him from the house.

Our people should also remember that what we were paying for was the right to expend our own money and our own labor to do a piece of work which if left undone

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

would render the Isthmus of Panama utterly valueless. If we had gone to Nicaragua, or had undertaken to build a canal anywhere else across the Isthmus, then the right which Colombia was so eager to sell for ten million dollars would not have been worth ten cents. The whole value was created by our prospective action; and this action was to be taken wholly at our own expense and without making Colombia or any one else pay a dollar, and this although no power would benefit more by the Canal than Colombia, as it would give her waterway communication by a short and almost direct route between her Caribbean and Pacific ports.

The people of the United States should remember that the United States paid fifty million dollars to Panama and the French company for every real right of every sort or description which existed on the Isthmus. There would have been no value even to these rights unless for the action that the United States then intended to take, and has since actually taken. The property of the French company would not have been worth any more than any other scrap-heap save for our subsequent action, and the right to cross the Isthmus of Panama would have been valueless to Colombia or to any other nation or body of men if we had failed to build a canal across it and had built one somewhere else. The whole value then and now of any right upon that Isthmus depended upon the fact that we then intended to spend and now have spent in building the Canal some three hundred and seventy-five million dollars.

The proposal of Mr. Wilson's Administration is that, having given to the Isthmus of Panama its whole present value by the expenditure of three hundred and seventy-five million dollars, we shall now pay twenty-five million dollars additional to the power that did its

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

best to prevent the Isthmus from having any value by treacherously depriving us of the right to build the Canal at all, or to spend a dollar on the Isthmus. If Colombia's action had been successful, the Isthmus would now be worthless; and yet the present Administration actually proposes to pay her twenty-five million dollars so as to atone to her for our not having permitted her to follow a course of conduct which would have prevented the Isthmus from being worth twenty-five cents.

Most people, when we began the building of the Canal, believed that we would fail. There were plenty of such sceptics in this country, and a much larger number abroad. If the American engineers had not been successful, if the American people had not backed them with money, and if the government had not started the work on a basis of absolutely non-partisan efficiency, there would exist nothing for which to pay any sum at the present moment. This proposed treaty is a proposal to pay blackmail to that government which sought in vain to forbid us to use our national efficiency in the interest of the world at large.

I cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that Panama represented to Colombia an asset of no value whatsoever save such as might accrue from the action which we were ready to undertake at great expense. She enjoyed this asset at all only because of our guaranteeing her against having it taken away from her by any foreign power. We had never guaranteed her against a movement for independence on the Isthmus, or against action on our own part if she misbehaved herself. Presidents and secretaries of state had repeatedly given the true interpretation of the obligations to New Granada (the South American republic which then included the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

present republic of Colombia) by the treaty of 1846. In 1856 Secretary Cass officially stated the position of the government as follows:

“Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments (on the Isthmus) would be permitted in a spirit of eastern isolation to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world, and justify the act by the pretension that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use.”

Seven years later Secretary Seward in different communications explicitly stated that the United States had not undertaken any duty in connection with “any question of internal revolution in the state of Panama” but merely “to protect the transit trade across the Isthmus against invasion of either domestic or foreign disturbers”; and that the United States had not “become bound to take sides in the domestic broils of New Granada” but merely to protect New Granada “as against other and foreign governments.” In the final portion of my message to Congress of December 7, 1903, and in my special message to Congress of January 4, 1904, I enumerated a partial list of revolutions, insurrections, disturbances, and other outbreaks that had occurred on the Isthmus of Panama during the fifty-three years preceding the negotiation of our treaty with the republic of Panama itself. These revolutions, unsuccessful rebellions, and other outbreaks numbered just fifty-three during these fifty-three years.

In detail they are as follows:

May 22, 1850.—Outbreak; two Americans killed. War-vessel demanded to quell outbreak.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

October, 1850.—Revolutionary plot to bring about independence of the Isthmus.

July 22, 1851.—Revolution in four southern provinces.

November 14, 1851.—Outbreak at Chagres. Man-of-war requested for Chagres.

June 27, 1853.—Insurrection at Bogotá and consequent disturbance on Isthmus. War-vessel demanded.

May 23, 1854.—Political disturbances. War-vessel requested.

June 28, 1854.—Attempted revolution.

October 24, 1854.—Independence of Isthmus demanded by provincial legislature.

April, 1856.—Riot and massacre of Americans.

May 4, 1856.—Riot.

May 18, 1856.—Riot.

June 3, 1856.—Riot.

October 2, 1856.—Conflict between two native parties. United States forces landed.

December 18, 1858.—Attempted secession of Panama.

April, 1859.—Riots.

September, 1860.—Outbreaks.

October 4, 1860.—Landing of United States forces in consequence.

May 23, 1861.—Intervention of the United States forces required by intendente.

October 2, 1861.—Insurrection and civil war.

April 4, 1862.—Measures to prevent rebels crossing Isthmus.

June 13, 1862.—Mosquera's troops refused admittance to Panama.

March, 1865.—Revolution, and United States troops landed.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

August, 1865.—Riots; unsuccessful attempt to invade Panama.

March, 1866.—Unsuccessful revolution.

April, 1867.—Attempt to overthrow government.

August, 1867.—Attempt at revolution.

July 5, 1868.—Revolution; provisional government inaugurated.

August 29, 1868.—Revolution; provisional government overthrown.

April, 1871.—Revolution; followed apparently by counter-revolution.

April, 1873.—Revolution and civil war which lasted to October, 1875.

August, 1876.—Civil war which lasted until April, 1877.

July, 1878.—Rebellion.

December, 1878.—Revolt.

April, 1879.—Revolution.

June, 1879.—Revolution.

March, 1883.—Riot.

May, 1883.—Riot.

June, 1884.—Revolutionary attempt.

December, 1884.—Revolutionary attempt.

January, 1885.—Revolutionary disturbances.

March, 1885.—Revolution.

April, 1887.—Disturbance on Panama Railroad.

November, 1887.—Disturbance on line of Canal.

January, 1889.—Riot.

January, 1895.—Revolution which lasted until April.

March, 1895.—Incendiary attempt.

October, 1899.—Revolution.

February, 1900, to July, 1900.—Revolution.

January, 1901.—Revolution.

July, 1901.—Revolutionary disturbances.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

September, 1901.—City of Colon taken by rebels.

March, 1902.—Revolutionary disturbances.

July, 1902.—Revolution.

Colombia had shown herself utterly incapable of keeping order on the Isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States had enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of sovereignty. In 1856, in 1860, and in 1873, in 1885, in 1901, and in 1902, sailors and marines from United States war-ships were forced to land in order to protect life and property and to see that the transit across the Isthmus was kept open. In 1861, in 1862, in 1885, and in 1900, the Colombian Government asked for the landing of troops by the United States Government to protect its interests and to maintain order on the Isthmus. Immediately after the revolution by which Panama obtained its independence in 1903, the Colombian Government made another request to land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty.

This request was made through General Reyes, afterward president of the republic. President Marroquin in making the request offered, if we would grant it, to “approve by decree” the ratification of the Hay-Herran canal treaty as signed, acting thus “by virtue of vested constitutional authority,” or if the government of the United States preferred, to call an extra session of Congress “with new and friendly members” to approve the treaty.

This despatch has an especial interest. In the first place, it requested the United States to restore order and secure Colombia supremacy on the very Isthmus from which the Colombian Government had just decided to bar us by preventing the construction of the Canal. In the second place, by the offer made it showed that the constitutional objections which had been urged

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

against ratifying the treaty were obviously not made in good faith, and that the government which made the treaty really had absolute control over its ratification, but chose to exercise that control adversely to us. As a matter of fact, whatever duty we had in the peninsula was to the Panamanians and not to the Colombians at all. As John Hay put it, "the covenant ran with the land." Our original treaty was with the United States of New Granada. This body suffered various changes, various portions splitting off and sometimes rejoining, and finally the republic of Colombia succeeded to most of it. We, however, recognized whatever power was in lawful possession of the Isthmus, as the successor of the one with which we had made the treaty.

In the constitutions of 1858 and 1861, Panama explicitly reserved the right to secede from the confederation and to nullify any act inconsistent with its own "autonomy." Colombia later published a new constitution by Executive Decree, reducing Panama to the condition of a crown colony; but Panama never accepted this action as proper, and when in 1903 it set up an independent government by unanimous action of her citizens, they were merely reasserting the constitutional and legal rights which they had never relinquished.

As Secretary Root wrote the Colombian minister in 1906, our action in recognizing the independence of Panama was merely "a recognition of the just rights of the people of Panama." On technical grounds Panama's case was clear, Colombia had no case whatever, and the United States was bound to act as she did act. Morally, of course, there is no question whatever that Panama's action was imperatively demanded and that the United States would have been guilty of culpable misconduct toward an oppressed people if she had failed to support Panama.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

I wish to emphasize the nature of the Colombian Government at the time when Panama declared her independence. It was a pure dictatorship. This was no concern of ours; for I hold it is not our affair to say to another nation what kind of government it shall have save in so far as the rights of our own citizens or of our own government are concerned. The then president, Mr. Marroquin, had been elected as vice-president. Soon after his inauguration by a *coup d'état* he unseated the president and put him in prison. He then announced that under the constitution, in the absence of the president, the vice-president wielded all the executive powers. Accordingly he exercised them.

In a few months the absence of the president became permanent, for he opportunely died in prison, and Mr. Marroquin continued to act as president. He declined to call Congress together for a period in the neighborhood of five years, and announced that under the constitution in the absence of Congress he possessed all the legislative functions. Accordingly he exercised these also. He was careful to explain that his course was entirely "constitutional" and that it was in accordance with the mandate of the constitution that he who had been elected vice-president exercised all the functions both of president and of Congress. As a matter of fact, while he did not permit any elections to take place for a number of years, yet his power was so absolute that he elected whomever he wished as soon as the election did take place; as already related, he notified me, when it became to his interest to do so, that he would elect a Congress with a guaranty that it would perform what he desired in case I would be satisfied therewith.

Having this absolute power not only to initiate but to ratify and carry out any treaty, he, through Mr. Herran, negotiated with Mr. Hay a treaty with the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

United States Government which conceded us the right to take the Panama Canal Zone and build the Canal for the sum of ten million dollars. (I disregard the minor details of the treaty.) He was exceedingly anxious to negotiate this treaty because it was a matter vital to Panama, and therefore of concern to the absentee owners of Panama; for if the treaty were not negotiated it was certain that the United States would go to Nicaragua. Having this treaty, and having received from the French company the assurance that they would sell us that property for forty million dollars, we selected the Panama route. As soon as we had done this Mr. Marroquin and his associates concluded that we were hopelessly committed, and that it was safe for him to repudiate his promise and try to extort more money. Under its original contract the time during which the French company had to complete the Canal lapsed the following year. Colombia had granted an extension of some years; but Mr. Marroquin and his associates now announced that this extension of time, which they had themselves given, was unconstitutional.

Again I wish to call attention to the solemn farce, the contemptible farce, of these men appealing to the constitution as a make-believe fetich, when the entire governmental power of the nation was vested at the moment in an irresponsible dictator who had never been elected to the office of president at all, who refused to summon Congress, and who yet exercised all its powers in the absence of Congress. It was dishonest on their part thus to talk of the constitution, and it is an act of unspeakable silliness for any of our people to take that talk seriously.

Accordingly Marroquin summoned a Congress, the only one that had been held under his Administration.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

It was an absolutely obsequious body. It did not attempt to pass a law, or do anything but repudiate the proposed treaty. Its committee, in the report which the Congress adopted, announced the real object of their action when it said that the following year the rights of the French company would lapse and Colombia would take possession of the French company's belongings, and then would be in a "more advantageous" position to negotiate with the United States. In other words, they expected to combine piracy with blackmail, and to take possession of the French company's belongings and get from us the forty million dollars we were to pay the French. Of course France would never have allowed this, and if I had acted with the pliant submission to Colombia's demand which the present Administration is at this moment showing, we would have had on the Isthmus France instead of Colombia, and the difficulty and danger of the whole problem would have been infinitely increased.

The Congress as well as the dictator had ample warning of all the dangers they by their action were inviting. Representatives from Panama warned the Colombian Administration that Panama would revolt if the treaty was rejected; and our Department of State in the gravest manner called their attention to the serious situation their conduct would create.

Our minister, Mr. Beaupré, an admirable public servant, who—unlike his successor who negotiated the preposterous treaty now before the Senate—conceived himself under obligation faithfully to represent the interests of the American people, encountered great difficulties while endeavoring to perform his duties at this time. The State Department's messages to him were intercepted, and in several cases not delivered, as shown

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

in his cable to Hay of August 6, 1903; and he was directed by the Department of State to protest against such interference with his official communications. Mr. Beaupré showed conclusively in his correspondence that the delay in dealing with the Panama Canal treaty by Colombia was for the purpose of wringing money from either the French company or the United States, or both.

For example, in his message of June 10, 1903, he stated that the local agent of the Panama Canal Company had informed him that he had received an official note from the Colombian Government stating that the treaty would be rejected unless the French company paid Colombia ten million dollars. This shows that the Colombian Government then expected only twenty millions all told—ten legitimately from us and ten as an extorted bribe from the unfortunate French company. President Wilson now proposes to give five millions extra, apparently to soothe the feelings of those who failed to extort a smaller sum by scandalously improper methods.

In his message of July 21, Minister Beaupré reported that the Colombian Government had sounded both Germany and England to see if they could not be persuaded to construct, or aid in the construction of, the Canal in place of the United States. The Government of Colombia, therefore, not only sought to blackmail us and to blackmail the French company, but endeavored to put one of the great Old World powers on the Isthmus in possession of the Canal. And because the then Administration refused to submit to such infamy on the part of Colombia, the present Administration actually proposes to pay the wrong-doer twenty-five million dollars of blackmail.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

There are in every great country a few men whose mental or moral make-up is such that they always try to smirch their own people, and sometimes go to the length of moral treason in the effort to discredit their own national government. A campaign of mendacity was started against this treaty from the outset by certain public men and certain newspapers. One of the favorite assertions of these men and newspapers was that the United States Government had in some way or other instigated, and through its agents been privy to, the revolutionary movement on the Isthmus. The statement is a deliberate falsehood, and every man who makes it knows that it is a falsehood. Mr. H. A. Gudger, late chief judge of the Department of Panama, was consul in Panama at the time, and had been consul for six years previously. It was impossible for any such encouragement or aid by the United States Government of the revolutionary movement to have occurred without his knowledge, and he has explicitly stated that he did not know of any such encouragement.

Mr. Hay, on behalf of the State Department, made an exactly similar statement to me at the same time. I repeated the statement in my message to Congress. The simple truth, as everybody with any knowledge knew at the time, was that the Isthmus was seething with revolution, and that a revolution was certain to occur if the treaty were rejected. Minister Beaupré notified us that the Panama delegates in the Congress during the debates about the treaty had informed the Congress explicitly that such would be the case. The newspapers of the United States repeatedly published news from Panama stating that such revolutions were impending. Quotations from the daily papers could be multiplied to prove this. It is only necessary to refer

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

to the *Washington Post* of August 31 and of September 1, the *New York Herald* of September 10, the *New York Times* of September 13, the *New York Herald* of October 26, the *Washington Post* of October 29, the *New York Herald* of October 30 and of November 2; all of the year 1903.

In my special message to Congress of January 4, 1904, I described the report made to me at the request of Lieutenant-General Young by Captain Humphrey and Lieutenant Murphy of the army, who in the course of a visit which on their own initiative (and without my knowledge) they had made to Panama, had discovered that various revolutionary movements were being inaugurated, and that a revolution would certainly occur, possibly immediately after the closing of the Colombian Congress at the end of October, but probably not before early November. This definitely localized the probability of the revolution taking place somewhere during the last ten days of October, or the first week in November. This was known on the Isthmus. It was known to the American newspapers. It was also known at Bogotá, where measures were taken to meet the situation. If it had not been known to the President and to the secretary of state, they would have shown themselves culpably unfit for their positions.

After my interview with the army officers named, on October 16 I directed the Navy Department to issue instructions to send ships to the Isthmus so as to protect American interests and the lives of American citizens if a revolutionary outbreak should occur. Most fortunately the United States steamer *Nashville*, under Commander Hubbard, in consequence of these orders, reached the Isthmus just in time to prevent a bloody massacre of American men, women, and children.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

Troops from Bogotá had already been landed in Colon on November 3, when the revolution broke out on the same day. On November 4, as Commander Hubbard officially reported, his marines were landed, in view of the fact that the American consul had been notified by the officer commanding the Colombian troops that he intended to open fire on the town of Colon at 2 P. M., and kill every United States citizen in the place. Accordingly various men, women, and children took refuge first in the shed of the Panama Railway Company, and then on a German steamer and a Panama Railway steamer which were at the dock. Commander Hubbard showed himself loyal to the best traditions of the American navy. He brought the *Nashville* close up to the water-front, landed some of his men to garrison the shed of the Panama Railway Company, and although the Colombians outnumbered him ten to one, succeeded in protecting the lives of the American citizens who were menaced. Thanks to the firmness of himself and his men, he so impressed the Colombian commander that next day the latter re-embarked and withdrew with his troops to Colombia.

So far from there having been too much foresight about the revolution on the part of the American Government, this plain official account by a naval officer of what occurred on November 4 showed that the American Government had, if anything, delayed too long its orders for the movement of American war-ships to Panama, and that it was only the coolness and gallantry of forty-two marines and sailors in the face of ten times their number of armed foes that prevented the carrying out of the atrocious threat of the Colombian commander. In accordance with our settled principles of conduct we refused to allow the transportation of troops

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

across the Isthmus by either the Colombians or the Panamanians, so as to prevent bloodshed and interference with traffic.

No one connected with this government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the revolution on the Isthmus of Panama. Save from the reports of our military and naval officers given in full in the message of the President to the Senate, and from the official reports in the Department of State, no one connected with the government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs.

Secretary of State John Hay stated officially at the time:

“The action of the President in the Panama matter is not only in the strictest accordance with the best precedents of our public policy, but it was the only course he could have taken in compliance with our treaty rights and obligations.”

I saw at the time very many men, Americans, natives of Panama, and Europeans, all of whom told me that they believed a revolution was impending, and most of whom asked me to take sides one way or the other. The most noted of these men whom I now recollect seeing was Mr. Bunau-Varilla. He, however, did not ask me to take sides one way or the other. To no one of these men did I give any private assurance of any kind one way or the other, referring them simply to my published declarations and acts.

For some reason certain newspapers have repeatedly stated that Mr. Nelson Cromwell was responsible for the revolution. I do not remember whether Mr. Nelson Cromwell was or was not among my callers during

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

the months immediately preceding the revolution. But if he was I certainly did not discuss with him anything connected with the revolution. I do not remember his ever speaking to me about the revolution until after it occurred, and my understanding was, and is, that he had nothing whatever to do with the revolutionary movement which actually took place.

There were, as I have said, various revolutionary movements on foot in the Isthmus, and it was my understanding that there was considerable jealousy among the instigators of these movements as to which one would come off first and would be effective. On information received after the event, I believed then, and believe now, that the revolutionary movement which actually succeeded was the one with which Mr. Bunau-Varilla was connected. He was sent by the government of Panama as minister to this country as soon as Panama became an independent state, and he then made no secret of the fact that he had been one of those who had organized the successful revolution; precisely as was the case with the president and other officials of the new republic. Neither did Mr. Bunau-Varilla make any secret of the fact that in acting as he did he was influenced both by his indignation as a resident of Panama at the Colombian treatment of Panama, and also by his indignation as a Frenchman at the Colombian proposal to blackmail the company, and if it would not submit to blackmail, then to confiscate its possessions.

In view of this double attitude of the Colombian Government, an attitude of tyranny toward Panama and of robbery toward the French company, Mr. Bunau-Varilla conceived it to be his duty to do all he could to aid the natives of Panama in throwing off the yoke of Colombia. I believe his attitude was entirely proper,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

alike from the standpoint of his duty as a resident of Panama, from the standpoint of his duty as a Frenchman to the investors and property-holders of the French company, and from the standpoint of his duty as a citizen of the world. But until after the event I had no knowledge of his activities save the knowledge possessed by all intelligent men who had studied the affairs of the Isthmus. I gave him no aid or encouragement. My attitude was open to the knowledge of all; it was set forth with minute accuracy in my message to Congress.

No one connected with the American Government instigated the revolution. I thought that a revolution might very probably occur, but so far from fomenting it I was at the time, as has repeatedly been made public since, preparing my message on the basis that it would be necessary for us openly to take possession of the Isthmus in view of the scandalous conduct of Colombia. However, the fact that the revolution occurred and that the independent republic of Panama was actually seated on the Isthmus, rendered it unnecessary for me to send in this original draft of my message.

Even had I desired to foment a revolution—which I did not—it would have been wholly unnecessary for me to do so. The Isthmus was seething with revolution. Any interference from me would have had to take the shape of preventing a revolution, not of creating one. All the people residing on the Isthmus ardently desired the revolution. The citizens of Panama desired it. Every municipal council, every governmental body the citizens themselves could elect or control, demanded and supported it. When the revolution had occurred, and was successful, and Panama was an independent republic, I certainly did prevent Colombia from carrying on a bloody war on the Isthmus in the effort to over-

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

throw the revolutionists. I certainly did refuse to do what Colombia requested, that is, to use the army and navy of the United States against our friends in the interests of the foes who had just been trying to blackmail us. We were solemnly pledged to keep transit across the Isthmus open. Again and again we had landed forces in time of revolutionary disturbance to secure this object. If Colombia had attempted the reconquest of the Isthmus, there would have been a far more bloody contest than ever before on the Isthmus, and the only way by which that contest could have been carried on would have been by using the railroad line and interrupting transit across the Isthmus.

It is therefore perfectly true that I prevented any attempt by Colombia to land troops on the Isthmus and plunge the Isthmus into a long-drawn-out and bloody war. What I did then was as plainly my duty as it would be the duty of the President to act in a similar manner now. Panama was an independent republic *de facto* then just as she is now. Colombia had not a particle more right to land troops and conquer her then than she has now. If I was wrong in preventing Colombia from making an effort by a long-drawn-out and bloody war to reconquer the Isthmus in 1903, then it would be a wrong to prevent her from making a similar effort at reconquest now.

If Mr. Wilson is sincere in his criticism of me for preventing such a war of reconquest in 1903, it is his duty to permit Colombia unhampered to make the reconquest at this moment; and to advocate one course of action is not one whit more immoral than to advocate the other. This Administration pretends to be for "peace." My course has brought twelve years of absolute peace to the Isthmus, for the first time in its history, and any

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

other course would have plunged it into bloodshed. The Administration stands for a make-believe peace of cowardice. I stand for what I then secured: the real and lasting peace of honor and justice.

Among the provisions in the present proposed treaty with Colombia is the following phrase:

“The Republic of Colombia shall be at liberty at all times to transport through the interoceanic canal its troops, materials of war, and ships of war, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, without paying any charges to the United States.”

To grant such a right to both Colombia and Panama was permissible so long as we also insisted on exercising it ourselves, on the grounds set forth by the then secretary of state, Mr. Root, in his note to the British Government of January 16, 1909. In this note Secretary Root took the ground that the United States had the right to except from “coming within any schedule of tolls which might thereafter be established” the ships of the powers entering into the agreement necessary in order to give title to the land through which the Canal was to be built, and to authorize its construction and the necessary jurisdiction or control over it when built. These nations were Panama, Colombia, and the United States. Since then the present Administration has surrendered the right so far as the United States is concerned; and yet it proposes to give to the most envenomed opponent of the building of the Canal rights to its use which are denied to the power giving the rights. In other words, the Administration says that our people, who built the Canal, can give to others rights which they dare not themselves exercise. Such a position is a wicked absurdity.

Moreover, the proposed treaty may be construed

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

under certain conditions to give Colombia the right to use the Canal in a war against Panama, and we could only prevent such an outrage by breaking faith. We have already guaranteed the independence of Panama against Colombia by a solemn treaty. The Administration now proposes to guarantee to Colombia the right to use the Canal against Panama. The two conflicting guaranties could not both be observed. Doubtless in the event of such conflict the United States would refuse to allow Colombia the rights which the proposed treaty would grant her; and in that case another and far greater grievance would be committed against Colombia; and then some future Administration, if it possessed the present Administration's nervous amiability toward all nations hostile to America, might agree to pay a hundred millions, with a suitable apology, as atonement for the conduct of its predecessor.

It may seem as if I am discussing the future possible actions of American Administrations ironically. I am really discussing them quite seriously. If the proposed treaty is ratified, it will render it quite impossible to consider any treaty as beyond the realm of probability. It had never entered my head that President Wilson could do what he proposes to do in connection with the proposed treaty with Colombia. If we pay twenty-five million dollars to Colombia now, then there is no reason why we should not at some future time pay her another one hundred million dollars; or pay Mexico ten times that sum for having taken Texas and California, Arizona and New Mexico; or pay a hundred times that sum to Great Britain because our ancestors deprived her of the thirteen colonies.

The Administration has succeeded in getting Congress to take the position that the United States has no

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

special rights in its own Canal. It now proposes by treaty to get Congress to give to the one nation which conspicuously wronged us in connection with that Canal special rights which it would deny to ourselves and to all other countries. President Wilson denies that we have the right to exempt our own vessels engaged in peaceful coast commerce from tolls, and yet he now proposes to exempt from tolls the war-vessels and transports of Colombia. Three years ago I should have deemed it impossible that two such propositions could have been entertained by the same Administration. Furthermore, the President, through the secretary of state, has recently stated that "if cordial relations are to be restored to Colombia, they must be restored on a basis that is satisfactory to Colombia." On the contrary, I take the position that the basis should be one of justice and right, and therefore one satisfactory to the honor and dignity of the United States Government and of the American people. The Administration's attitude is precisely as if when a householder has a disagreement with a burglar the effort should be to restore "peace" upon a basis satisfactory to the burglar instead of to the householder. Any burglar will welcome the "peace" which comes if the householder tenders him a large sum of money to atone for the heartlessness of a former occupant of the house in preventing him from getting away with the loose silver.

Mr. Bryan has also stated that Colombia suffered a loss financially, which we ought to make up, when she lost Panama. This represents the doctrine that when one country holds another in subjection and by misgovernment drives it to revolt, the moral and equitable rights are on the side of the tyrant country and not on the country that has declared its independence. If Mr.

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

Bryan is right in his theory, France owes Great Britain an enormous sum of money for its misconduct in assisting the revolted colonies to become the United States of America. Yet the misgovernment of the colonies by Great Britain against which the colonies revolted did not even remotely approach the misgovernment against which Panama revolted; and it would not be more absurd for President Wilson to take the position that France owes Great Britain an enormous sum of money for her conduct in the Revolutionary War than to take the position which is now taken in reference to the payment of this twenty-five million dollars of sheer blackmail to Colombia.

We have at different times paid sums of money to various nations for the acquisition of territory from them. We have paid money to Russia and to France. We have paid money to Spain. But we have never paid to any nation, not to the most powerful European nation, nor to any American nation, a sum of money equal to the sum which it is now proposed to pay to Colombia in tendering her an apology for having refused to permit her to reconquer a little people whom she had shamelessly oppressed, and for having acquired the right which she sought to deny us, the right to spend hundreds of millions of our own money in constructing a canal in our own interest, in her interest, and in the interest of all the civilized powers of the world.

As Mr. Bonaparte, late attorney-general, has said:

“By the treaty we promise to pay Colombia, as a compensation for an alleged injury, a much larger sum of money than we paid France for Louisiana, or Mexico for California, or Spain for the Philippines, or Panama for the Canal Zone, or than Great Britain paid us in settlement of the Alabama claims; if we acknowledge

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

that we have so wronged her as to make it proper for us to buy her forgiveness, it is consistent and appropriate to add to this acknowledgment of wrong an apology, or, in other words, an expression of sorrow; if we have nothing to apologize for, because we have done her no wrong, then it is utterly unworthy of a great nation and a forfeiture of our right to self-respect for us to pay her a red cent."

The proposed treaty is a crime against the United States. It is an attack upon the honor of the United States which if justified would convict the United States of infamy. It is a menace to the future well-being of our people. Either there is or there is not warrant for paying this enormous sum and for making the apology. If there is no warrant for it—and of course not the slightest vestige of warrant exists—then the payment is simply the payment of belated blackmail. If there is warrant for it, then we have no business to be on the Isthmus at all. The payment can only be justified upon the ground that this nation has played the part of a thief, or of a receiver of stolen goods. In such a case it would be a crime to remain on the Isthmus, and it is much worse than an absurdity for the President, who wishes to pay the twenty-five million dollars, to take part in opening the Canal; for if the President and the secretary of state are justified in paying the twenty-five million dollars, it is proof positive that in opening the Canal they are in their own opinion engaged in the dedication of stolen goods.

To recapitulate:

1. The land could not have been acquired and the Canal could not have been built save by taking precisely and exactly the action which was taken. Unless the nation is prepared heartily to indorse and stand by

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

this action, it has no right to take any pride in anything that has been done on the Isthmus and it has no right to remain on the Isthmus. If there is a moral justification for paying Colombia twenty-five million dollars, then there is no moral justification for our staying on the Isthmus at all and we should promptly get off. If President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are right in their position, then they have no business to take part in any ceremony connected with opening the Canal; on their theory they would be engaged in the dedication of stolen goods.

2. In the words of John Hay, "the covenant ran with the land." Our agreement was with the power which owned the Isthmus of Panama, whether this was New Granada or Colombia or Panama itself. This agreement guaranteed the state that was in control of the Isthmus against interference by foreign powers, but it imposed no responsibility upon us as regards internecine troubles. This was explicitly set forth in statements by Secretaries Cass and Seward, one a Democrat and one a Republican. When once Panama had seceded from Colombia, we had no obligation whatever to Colombia. Our obligation was thereby transferred from Colombia to Panama precisely as it had previously been transferred from New Granada to Colombia.

3. So far as Panama herself was concerned, the constitutions to which she had given her assent reserved to her complete autonomy as regards everything within her own territory and the right of secession; and if any attention is to be paid to the technical and paper constitutional rights of the various successive possessors of the Isthmus (all of which they had themselves violated whenever they chose to do so), then Panama had the absolute constitutional right, as she herself recited in

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

her action, to secede and establish a separate and independent government. Therefore, if heed were paid only to the technical considerations, the United States was bound to act precisely as it did act. Morally, of course, its obligations to take this action were overwhelming.

4. Colombia was not at the moment living under a constitutional government and had not been for five years; and it is either folly or bad faith to assert that the Colombian constitution really forbade or imposed any action by or upon the Colombian Government. The entire governmental power was administered by the elected vice-president, who had become dictator by the simple process of putting the president in jail and keeping him there until he died, and who never summoned Congress until he wished to devise a pretext for rejecting the treaty which he himself had negotiated. His complete power over the election of Congress was explicitly set forth in his official communication through General Reyes to us immediately after the revolution, in which he offered, if we would break faith with Panama and restore the Isthmus to him, to forthwith call another Congress, which he would guarantee in advance would ratify the treaty; and as a supplement to this he offered, if we preferred, in the exercise of his "constitutional power," to ratify the treaty immediately by executive action.

5. It thus appears that the entire power and all the functions of the Colombian Government were vested in the dictator, Marroquin, and the negotiation, ratification, and proclamation of the treaty were necessarily acts to be taken by the same man. For this all-powerful individual to reject the treaty which he had himself made was simply an act of bad faith, and by his proposi-

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

tion through General Reyes, above quoted, he acknowledged it to be such.

6. When we entered into the treaty with him it was at his own urgent request, and he offered the terms he did in order to prevent us from entering into a similar treaty with Nicaragua, which would have rendered the Isthmus of Panama as valueless an asset as the Isthmus of Darien is at the present moment. We closed with his offer, and definitely abandoned the Nicaragua route. He therefore received a valuable consideration for entering into the treaty, and he forfeited all claim to being further considered when he then proceeded to repudiate his own action.

7. This action on his part was taken for the most grossly improper reasons. The declaration of the Colombian Congress, which he called and over which he had complete control, showed that the purpose of the Colombian Government was to repudiate its agreement with the French company and take possession of the property of the French company with a view to securing the money we were going to pay the French company. As set forth by our minister in his communication to the State Department, the Colombian Government endeavored to extort a bribe of ten million dollars from the French company. This bribe was to be given as a consideration to the Colombian Government in order to induce it to fulfil its treaty with the United States, and thus give the French company the chance to get the money which the United States had stated it would pay.

8. We actually paid the money we had agreed to pay. We paid it to the *de facto* government which was on the Isthmus. We recognized the independence of the people of Panama when they had revolted against outrageous

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

and cynical oppression and corruption on the part of alien and absentee tyrants. Not to have stood by the people of Panama when they acted in this manner would have been an outrage against humanity and a betrayal not only of our own rights but of the rights of the world; for it had been recognized solemnly by unanimous vote of the American nations at the Pan-American Congress, and less officially but no less effectually by the nations of Europe, that it was our national duty to construct the Canal at the earliest possible moment.

9. Under these conditions it would have been not merely folly and weakness, but the gravest moral dereliction on our part to have failed to take exactly the action that we took. It would have been submission to and the encouragement of blackmail for the French company or for ourselves to have paid the Colombian Government twenty-five million dollars or anything except what we did covenant to pay at that time; and to pay any sum now would be to smirch the name of America and to encourage other powers to blackmail us in the future.

10. The Colombians and their American associates who demand and desire the twenty-five million dollars have no possible title to it, and only harm and damage would come from paying it to them. But if there is a desire at this time to have the United States pay twenty-five million dollars to somebody, Belgium offers the chance. The United States Government has signally failed to take action on behalf of Belgium when The Hague conventions, to which the United States was a signatory power, were violated at Belgium's expense. During the last century no civilized power guiltless of wrong has suffered such a dreadful fate as has befallen

THE PANAMA BLACKMAIL TREATY

Belgium. Belgium had not the smallest responsibility for the disaster that has overwhelmed it. The United States has been derelict to its duty, has signally failed to stand for international righteousness and international peace in the course it has pursued with reference to the wrongs of Belgium. The action of the present Administration, both in internal affairs and as regards Mexico, has caused much loss and suffering to multitudes of American citizens. But if at this time we feel able to extend moneyed aid to outsiders, we should certainly extend it to the Belgian people. If the Administration thinks that the United States can now afford to give twenty-five million dollars to any outsiders, then by all means let the twenty-five million dollars be given, not for the benefit of foreign politicians who have sought to blackmail us and have failed, but for the benefit of the men, and specially of the women and the children, who have suffered so terribly in the gallant little country of Belgium.

As a matter of fact, every action we took was not only open and straightforward, but was rendered absolutely necessary by the misconduct of Colombia. Every action we took was in accordance with the highest principles of national, international, and private morality. The honor of the United States, and the interest not only of the United States but of the world, demanded the building of the Canal. The Canal could not have been built, it would not now have been begun, had our government not acted precisely as it did act in 1903. No action ever taken by the government, in dealing with any foreign power since the days of the Revolution, was more vitally necessary to the well-being of our people, and no action we ever took was taken with a

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

higher regard for the standards of honor, of courage, and of efficiency which should distinguish the attitude of the United States in all its dealings with the rest of the world.

XV

THE SOUL OF THE NATION *

I AM glad to speak in this historic building, at the request of men of such high standing as those who have asked me to speak; and I thank them for having asked me to speak on the most vital of all present-day questions, the "Nation's Crisis," a crisis pre-eminently moral and spiritual.

There can be no greater misfortune for a free nation than to find itself under incapable leadership when confronted by a great crisis. This is peculiarly the case when the crisis is not merely one in its own history, but is due to some terrible world cataclysm—such a cataclysm as at this moment has overwhelmed civilization. The times have needed a Washington or a Lincoln. Unfortunately we have been granted only another Buchanan.

The appeal is made on behalf of Mr. Wilson that we

* Address delivered at Cooper Union, New York, November 3, 1916, in response to the following invitation, dated New York, October 24, 1916:

Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, en route, Denver, Colo.

It is our conviction that no other Presidential campaign in the history of the United States has presented graver issues or more far-reaching problems than does this. Not only is the domestic welfare of the nation profoundly to be affected by the result, but the honor and the very safety of the Republic are at stake.

Upon the character and the policies of the next Administration will depend the course of the United States during its most critical years. As business men and as loyal citizens we are deeply concerned in aiding to bring about a decision that will restore sound principles and true Americanism to the conduct of our national affairs.

In this momentous hour the vital need is for such a presentation of the issues as will arrest the widest attention and carry the clearest message to the public mind. And this task we commend to your hands.

No living American has a greater audience. Already you have done memorable service to your country in awakening it to a sense of its perils and obligations, and you have revealed an unselfish patriotism that makes your voice singularly potent in counsel and inspiration. Will you not lend it to the cause once more, by address-

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

should not change horses in crossing a stream. The worth of such an appeal is not obvious when the horse, whenever he comes to a stream, first pretends he is going to jump it, then refuses to enter it, and when he has reached the middle alternately moves feebly forward and feebly backward, and occasionally lies down. We had just entered the greatest crisis in our history when we "swapped horses" by exchanging Buchanan for Lincoln; and if we had not made the exchange we would never have crossed the stream at all. The failure now to change Mr. Wilson for Mr. Hughes would be almost as damaging.

Washington and Lincoln confronted crises of different types, and therefore in any given crisis it is now the example of one, now the example of the other, which it is most essential for us to follow. Each stood absolutely for the national ideal, for a full Union of all our people, perpetual and indestructible, and for the full employment of our entire collective strength to any extent that was necessary in order to meet the nation's needs. Lincoln had to deal with vital questions of internal reform,

ing the people of the nation from the vantage-ground of a great mass-meeting in the metropolis? Under these circumstances a message from Theodore Roosevelt on "America's Crisis" would ring from coast to coast, and might be the final means of avoiding a calamitous decision at the polls.

The undersigned suggest Cooper Union as the place, and an evening during the week of October 23d-28th as the time. Severally and unitedly we urge upon you acceptance of this great opportunity for public service.

John G. Shedd, Chicago, Ill.; R. Livingston Beekman, Providence, R. I.; Charles Curtis Harrison, Philadelphia, Pa.; William Barbour, New York; Andrew D. White, Ithaca, N. Y.; John B. Farwell, Chicago, Ill.; Frederick Talcott, New York; John Wanamaker, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hamilton Fish, Garrison, N. Y.; Charles Sumner Bird, East Walpole, Mass.; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, Ill.; George C. Riggs, New York; Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, Somerville, N. J.; Darwin P. Kingsley, New York; Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland, Ohio; Horatio C. King, Brooklyn, N. Y.; David Jayne Hill, Rochester, N. Y.; H. J. Heinz, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Isaac N. Seligman, New York; Warner Miller, Herkimer, N. Y.; Nathan T. Folwell, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas R. Proctor, Utica, N. Y.; Truman H. Newberry, Detroit, Mich.; Lloyd Griscom, New York; Sylvester S. Marvin, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

and with the overturning of internal forces tending toward the destruction of the Union. Washington had to deal primarily, not only with the creation of our Union, but with the maintenance of our liberty against all adverse forces from without. This country must learn the lessons taught by both careers, and must apply the principles established by those careers to the ever-changing conditions of the present, or sooner or later it will go down in utter ruin.

The lesson of nationalism and therefore of efficient action through the National Government is taught by both careers. At the present moment we need to apply this principle in our social and industrial life to a degree far greater than was the case in either Washington's day or Lincoln's.

The expansion of our people across the continent has gone hand in hand with their immense concentration in great cities, and with gigantic changes in the machinery of communication, transportation, and production; changes which have worked a business revolution almost as vast as that worked by all similar revolutions put together since the days of the Roman Empire. Therefore we are now forced to face problems not only new in degree, but new in kind. We must face these problems in the spirit of Washington and Lincoln; but our methods in industrial life must differ as completely from those that obtained in the times of those two great men of the past as the weapons of warfare now differ from the flint-locks of Washington's soldiers, or the muzzle-loading smooth-bores of Lincoln's day. We must quit the effort to meet modern conditions by flint-lock legislation. We must recognize, as modern Germany has recognized, that it is folly either to try to cripple business by making it ineffective, or to fail

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

to insist that the wage-worker and consumer must be given their full share of the prosperity that comes from the successful application and use of modern industrial instrumentalities. Both capitalists and wage-workers must understand that the performance of duties and the enjoyment of rights go hand in hand. Any shirking of obligation toward the nation, and toward the people that make up the nation, deprives the offenders of all moral right to the enjoyment of privileges of any kind. This applies alike to corporations and to labor-unions, to rich men and poor men, to big men and little men.

There can be no genuine feeling of patriotism of the kind that makes all men willing and eager to die for the land, unless there has been some measure of success in making the land worth living in for all alike, whatever their station, so long as they do their duty; and on the other hand, no man has a right to enjoy any benefits whatever from living in the land in time of peace, unless he is trained physically and spiritually so that if duty calls he can and will do his part to keep the land against all alien aggression. Every citizen of this land, every American of whatever creed or national origin, should keep in mind the injunction of George Washington to his nephews, when in his will dated July 9th, 1799, he bequeathed to each of them a sword, making the bequest in the following words:

“The swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheathe them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defense, or in defense of their country and its rights; and in the latter case to keep them unsheathed and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.”

These are noble words. Remember that they gained their nobility only because the deeds of Washington

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

had been such that he had a right to utter them. His sword had been sheathed until he drew it on behalf of national liberty and of humanity, and then it was kept unsheathed until victory came. His sword was a terror to the powers of evil. It was a flame of white fire in the eyes of those who fought for what was right.

Washington loved peace. Perhaps Lincoln loved peace even more. But when the choice was between peace and righteousness, both alike trod undaunted the dark path that led through terror and suffering and the imminent menace of death to the shining goal beyond. We treasure the lofty words these men spoke. We treasure them because they were not merely words, but the high expression of deeds still higher; the expression of a serene valor that was never betrayed by a cold heart or a subtle and selfish brain. We treasure what Washington enjoined on his blood-kin as their duty when they should inherit his swords; but we do so only because Washington's own sword never slipped from a hand made irresolute by fear. We treasure the words that Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg, and in his second inaugural; words spoken with the inspiration of a prophet of old, standing between the horns of the altar, while the pillars of the temple reeled roundabout. The words spoken by Lincoln were spoken when he was weighed down by iron grief, and yet was upheld by an iron will, so that he stood erect while the foundations of the country rocked beneath his feet, and with breaking heart and undaunted soul poured out, as if it were a libation, the life-blood of the best and bravest of the land. We cherish these words of his only because they were made good by his deeds. We remember that he said that a government dedicated to freedom should not perish from the earth. We remember it only because

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

he did not let the government perish. We remember that he said that the bondman should be free at whatever cost. We remember it only because he paid the cost and set the bondman free.

When Lincoln accepted the nomination of the Republican party in 1860, he spoke of the platform of that party as follows:

“The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate or disregard them in any part.”

This was a short statement. It derived its value from the fact that it was a promise that was kept. I ask you to compare this record of Lincoln's with the cynicism shown by Mr. Wilson at different times in repudiating almost every promise he has ever made on any matter of vital importance. He has repudiated the promises of the platform on which he was elected. He has repudiated the promises he made on the stump to further his own election. He has now repudiated about all the promises which he has made since he became President.

I have been assailed because I have criticised Mr. Wilson. I have not said one thing of him that was not absolutely accurate and truthful. I have not said one thing of him which I did not deem it necessary to say because of the vital interests of this Republic. I have criticised him because I believe he has dragged in the dust what was most sacred in our past, and has jeopardized the most vital hopes of our future. I have never spoken of him as strongly as Abraham Lincoln in his day spoke of Buchanan and Pierce when they were Presidents of the United States. I spoke of him at all, only because I have felt that in this great world crisis he has played a more evil part than Buchanan and

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

Pierce ever played in the years that led up to and saw the opening of the Civil War. I criticise him now because he has adroitly and cleverly and with sinister ability appealed to all that is weakest and most unworthy in the American character; and also because he has adroitly and cleverly and with sinister ability sought to mislead many men and women who are neither weak nor unworthy, but who have been misled by a shadow dance of words. He has made our statesmanship a thing of empty elocution. He has covered his fear of standing for the right behind a veil of rhetorical phrases. He has wrapped the true heart of the nation in a spangled shroud of rhetoric. He has kept the eyes of the people dazzled so that they know not what is real and what is false, so that they turn, bewildered, unable to discern the difference between the glitter that veneers evil and the stark realities of courage and honesty, of truth and strength. In the face of the world he has covered this nation's face with shame as with a garment.

I hardly know whether to feel the most burning indignation at those speeches of his wherein he expresses lofty sentiments which his deeds belie, or at those other speeches wherein he displays a frank cynicism of belief in, and of appeal to, what is basest in the human heart. In a recent speech at Long Branch he said to our people, as reported in the daily press, that "You cannot worship God on an empty stomach, and you cannot be a patriot when you are starving." No more sordid untruth was ever uttered. Is it possible that Mr. Wilson, who professes to be a historian, who has been a college president, and passes for a man of learning, knows nothing either of religion or of patriotism? Does he not know that never yet was there a creed worth having, the professors of which did not fervently worship

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

God whether their stomachs were full or empty? Does he not know that never yet was there a country worth living in which did not develop among her sons something at least of that nobility of soul which makes men not only serve their country when they are starving, but when death has set its doom on their faces?

Such a sentence as this could be uttered only by a President who cares nothing for the nation's soul, and who believes that the nation itself puts its belly above its soul. No wonder that when such a doctrine is preached by the President, his secretary of war should compare Washington and Washington's soldiers with the bandit chiefs of Mexico and their followers who torture men and murder children, and commit nameless outrages on women. This sentence is as bad as anything Secretary Baker himself said. I call the attention of these apostles of the full belly, of these men who jeer at the nation's soul, I call the attention of President Wilson and his secretary of war and his secretary of the navy, to what Washington said of his own soldiers when he spoke of them in a letter to Congress on April 21st, 1778:

“Without arrogance or the slightest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet, and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy without a house or a hut to cover them till they could

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled."

That is what Washington said. Does Mr. Wilson think that these men of Valley Forge were not patriots, because they were starving? Is his own soul so small that he cannot see the greatness of soul of Washington and of the Continental soldiers whose feet left bloody tracks upon the snow as they marched toward the enemy? They were clad in rags; their eyes were hollow with famine; their bodies were numbed with cold and racked with fever; but they loved their country; they stood for the soul of the nation and not for its belly. Mr. Baker and Mr. Daniels have done evil to this country only because they stood where their master, Mr. Wilson, had placed them. Mr. Baker has preached the doctrine of contempt for the men of the Revolution only because he has followed the lead of the President, who says that religion is merely a matter of a full stomach, and that patriotism vanishes when heroes feel the pinch of famine. I call your attention to these statements not only because they are foul slanders on everything that is good in human nature, not only because they are a foul slander on every American worth calling an American, but because they show the character of Mr. Wilson himself.

So much for Mr. Wilson when he says what he really feels. Now a word about what he says when he speaks what it is quite impossible that he really believes. On last Saturday afternoon, with an effrontery that is literally dumfounding, he said that when he "started in one direction" he "would never turn around and go back," and that he "had acted upon this principle all his life," and that he "intended to act upon it in the

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

future," and that he "did not see any obstacle that would make him turn back." Why, his whole record has consisted in turning back at every point when he was bidden to do so by either fear or self-interest. He has reversed himself on almost every important position he has ever taken. There is not a bandit leader in Mexico who does not know that if he can show enough strength he can at any moment make Mr. Wilson not merely turn back, but humbly kiss his hand; kiss the hand that is red with the blood of our men, women, and children. Mr. Wilson says that he "never turns back"! Why, he has been conducting his whole campaign on the appeal that he has "kept us out of war"; and yet last Thursday, without a moment's notice, and only ten days before election, after having been going full speed in one direction, he turned around and went full speed in the reverse direction on this very point; saying, forsooth, that if there was another war we must not keep out of it. He has been claiming credit because in the case of Belgium he has preserved a neutrality that would make Pontius Pilate quiver with envy; and yet in this speech last Thursday, he said that never again must we be neutral! He has kept us absolutely unprepared; so that now we are as absolutely unprepared, after he has been in office three and a half years, as we were when he took office; and yet he now says that we must enter the next war whenever one comes! He has looked on without a single throb of his cold heart, without the least quickening of his tepid pulse, while gallant Belgium was trampled into bloody mire, while the Turk inflicted on the Armenian and Syrian Christians wrongs that would have blasted the memory of Attila, and he has claimed credit for his neutral indifference to their suffering; and yet now, ten days before election, he says

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

the United States must hereafter refuse to allow small nations to be mishandled by big, powerful nations. Do it now, Mr. Wilson! If you mean what you say, Mr. Wilson, show that you mean it by your action in the present.

There is no more evil lesson that can be taught this people than to cover up failure in the performance of duty in the present by the utterance of glittering generalities as to the performance of duty in the nebulous future. With all my heart I believe in seeing this country prepare its own soul and body so that it can stand up for the weak when they are oppressed by the strong. But before it can do so it must fit itself to defend its own rights, and it must stand for the rights of its citizens. During the last three years and a half, hundreds of American men, women, and children have been murdered on the high seas, and in Mexico. Mr. Wilson has not dared to stand up for them. He has let them suffer without relief, and without inflicting punishment upon the wrong-doers. When he announces that in some dim future he intends to stand up for the rights of others, let him make good in the present by now standing up for the rights of our own people. He wrote Germany that he would hold her to "strict accountability" if an American lost his life on an American or neutral ship by her submarine warfare. Forthwith the *Arabic* and the *Gulflight* were sunk. But Mr. Wilson dared not take any action to make his threat effective. He held Germany to no accountability, loose or strict. Germany despised him; and the *Lusitania* was sunk in consequence. Thirteen hundred and ninety-four people were drowned, one hundred and three of them babies under two years of age. Two days later, while the dead mothers with their dead babies in their arms lay by

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

scores in the Queenstown morgue, Mr. Wilson selected the moment as opportune to utter his famous sentence about being "Too proud to fight." Mr. Wilson now dwells at Shadow Lawn. There should be shadows enough at Shadow Lawn; the shadows of men, women, and children who have risen from the ooze of the ocean bottom and from graves in foreign lands; the shadows of the helpless whom Mr. Wilson did not dare protect lest he might have to face danger; the shadows of babies gasping pitifully as they sank under the waves; the shadows of women outraged and slain by bandits; the shadows of Boyd and Adair and their troopers who lay in the Mexican desert, the black blood crusted round their mouths, and their dim eyes looking upward, because President Wilson had sent them to do a task, and had then shamefully abandoned them to the mercy of foes who knew no mercy. Those are the shadows proper for Shadow Lawn; the shadows of deeds that were never done; the shadows of lofty words that were followed by no action; the shadows of the tortured dead.

The titanic war still staggers to and fro across the continent of Europe. The nations engaged in the death-wrestle still show no sign of letting up. Some time in the next four years the end will come, and then no human being can tell what this nation will have to face. If we were ready and able to defend ourselves and to do our duty to others, and if our abilities were backed by an iron willingness to show courage and good faith on behalf both of ourselves and of others, not only would our own place in the world be secure, but we might render incalculable service to other nations. If we elect Mr. Wilson it will be serving notice on the world that the traditions, the high moral standards, the courageous purposes of Washington and Lincoln have

THE SOUL OF THE NATION

been obscured, and that in their stead we have deliberately elected to show ourselves for the time being a sordid, soft, and spineless nation; content to accept any and every insult; content to pay no heed to the most flagrant wrongs done to the small and weak; allowing our men, women, and children to be murdered and outraged; anxious only to gather every dollar that we can, to spend it in luxury, and to replace it by any form of money-making which we can follow with safety to our own bodies.

We cannot for our own sakes, we cannot for the sake of the world at large, afford to take such a position. In place of the man who is now in the White House, who has wrought such shame on our people, let us put in the Presidential chair the clean and upright justice of the Supreme Court, the fearless governor of New York, whose whole public record has been that of a man straightforward in his thoughts and courageous in his actions, who cannot be controlled to do what is wrong, and who will do what is right no matter what influences may be brought against him.

XVI

CONCLUSION

FEAR God and take your own part ! This is another way of saying that a nation must have power and will for self-sacrifice and also power and will for self-protection. There must be both unselfishness and self-expression, each to supplement the other, neither wholly good without the other. The nation must be willing to stand disinterestedly for a lofty ideal and yet it must also be able to insist that its own rights be heeded by others. Evil will come if it does not possess the will and the power for unselfish action on behalf of non-utilitarian ideals and also the will and the power for self-mastery, self-control, self-discipline. It must possess those high and stern qualities of soul which will enable it to conquer softness and weakness and timidity and train itself to subordinate momentary pleasure, momentary profit, momentary safety to the larger future.

There is not the slightest use of saying any of this unless we are willing and able to translate our speech into action. National unselfishness and self-sacrifice must be an affair of deeds. To utter lofty sentiments on the subject, to indulge in oratory about it, to write notes about it, and then when the occasion arises not to act in accordance with these sentiments, means moral degradation for the nation. Oratorical insincerity of this kind is nauseating to all honest men. Prolonged indulgence in this kind of emotional insincerity eats into the moral fibre of the people like a corrosive acid.

CONCLUSION

In the spring of 1910 at Christiania before the Nobel Prize Committee, in acknowledging the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, I outlined the plan for securing international peace by means of an international league pledged to put force back of it, the plan which I elaborated in the volume published over a year ago called "America and the World War." But it is a sham and a mockery to advocate such a plan until and unless we in the first place make it evident that when we give a promise we mean to keep it, and in the next place make it evident that we are willing to show the courage, the resolution, the forethought in training and preparation that will enable us to put strength behind our promise. I believe in nationalism as the absolute prerequisite to internationalism. I believe in patriotism as the absolute prerequisite to the larger Americanism. I believe in Americanism because unless our people are good Americans first, America can accomplish little or nothing worth accomplishing for the good of the world as a whole.

But none of these objects can be attained by merely talking about them. National unselfishness and self-sacrifice, national self-mastery, and the development of national power, can never be achieved by words alone. National unselfishness—which is another way of saying service rendered to internationalism—can become effective only if the nation is willing to sacrifice something, is willing to face risk and effort and endure hardship in order to render service. The towering idealism of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and second inaugural counted only because it represented the labor and effort and willingness to face death and eager pride in fighting for ideals, which marked a mighty people led by a mighty leader.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

We of America, thanks to the failure of President Wilson's Administration to do its duty, have ourselves failed to serve the cause of internationalism as it was our bounden duty to serve it by standing efficiently for heroic Belgium when, under the lead of their heroic king and queen, the Belgian people chose to tread the hard path of national suffering and honor rather than the easy path which led through fields of safety and disgrace. The Belgians have walked through the valley of the shadow rather than prove false to their ideals. We, rich, prosperous, at ease, and potentially powerful, have not lifted a finger to right their wrongs, lest our own safety and comfort might be jeopardized. This represents on our part neither readiness for national self-sacrifice, nor appreciation of true internationalism. It represents the gross selfishness which puts material well-being above fealty to a high ideal.

This national selfishness, manifested under the lead of President Wilson and Secretary Bryan, was doubly offensive because it was loudly trumpeted as a virtue. One of our besetting sins as a nation has been to encourage in our public servants, in our speech-making leaders of all kinds, the preaching of impossible ideals; and then to treat this as offsetting the fact that in practice these representatives did not live up to any ideals whatever. The vital need is that we as a nation shall say what we mean and shall make our public servants say what they mean; say it to other nations and say it to us, ourselves. Let us demand that we and they preach realizable ideals and that we and they live up to the ideals thus preached. Let there be no impassable gulf between exuberance of impossible promise and pitiful insufficiency in quality of possible performance.

Belgium is the test of just how much our public ser-

CONCLUSION

vants and our professional humanitarians mean when they speak in favor of high ideals and lofty international morality. If we clamor for peace without saying that Belgium's wrongs are to be righted before peace can properly come, we are false to every true standard of international morality. If we are not willing to encounter hazard and the risk of loss and the need of effort in order to help Belgium, then we show ourselves unfit to talk about internationalism.

But this is not all. It is odious hypocrisy to do as this Administration has done and refuse to stand for the rights of neutrals when, as in the case of Belgium, these rights were most flagrantly trodden under foot, but when we had no pecuniary interest involved; and yet promptly to clamor on behalf of the rights of neutrals when the exercise of these rights would redound to our own pecuniary advantage. This is to put the body above the soul, the dollar above the man. Moreover, when we thus, in the first and greatest case of the violation of neutral rights, flinched from our duty, we rendered it impossible with effect or indeed with propriety to protest about subsequent and lesser violations of neutral rights. With colossal effrontery Germany, the first and infinitely the greatest offender against humanity and the rights of neutrals, has clamored that we should take steps to "secure neutral rights on the seas," to "establish the freedom of the seas," "to secure the neutralization of the ocean." The pro-Germans on this side of the water have repeated these words with parrot-like fidelity of phrase. In the first place, all offenses against the freedom of the seas that have been perpetrated in this war are unimportant compared with the infamy committed on Belgium—save only those offenses committed by the German and Austrian submarines,

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

which resulted in the murder of over two thousand non-combatants. In the next place, until the civilized world which is at peace, and more especially the United States, in some way takes effective action to rebuke the violation by Germany of the neutralized territory of Belgium, it is utterly useless to talk about the neutralization of the seas. If the United States had promptly and effectively interfered on behalf of Belgium, it would have been its clear duty to interfere against all the nations who on sea or on shore have subsequently been guilty of violations of international law and of the rules laid down in The Hague conventions, the Geneva convention, and other similar conventions. But until the first duty has been efficiently performed and the major offender dealt with, it is a proof of cowardice and of bad faith to deal with minor offenses.

Let us be true to our democratic ideal, not by the utterance of cheap platitudes, not by windy oratory, but by living our lives in such manner as to show that democracy can be efficient in promoting the public welfare during periods of peace and efficient in securing national freedom in time of war. If a free government cannot organize and maintain armies and navies which can and will fight as well as those of an autocracy or a despotism, it will not survive. We must have a first-class navy and a first-class professional army. We must also secure universal and obligatory military training for all our young men. Our democracy must prove itself effective in making the people healthy, strong, and industrially productive, in securing justice, in inspiring intense patriotism, and in making every man and woman within our borders realize that if they are not willing at time of need to serve the nation against all comers in war, they are not fit to be citizens of the nation in time of peace.

CONCLUSION

The democratic ideal must be that of subordinating chaos to order, of subordinating the individual to the community, of subordinating individual selfishness to collective self-sacrifice for a lofty ideal, of training every man to realize that no one is entitled to citizenship in a great free commonwealth unless he does his full duty to his neighbor, his full duty in his family life, and his full duty to the nation; and unless he is prepared to do this duty not only in time of peace but also in time of war. It is by no means necessary that a great nation should always stand at the heroic level. But no nation has the root of greatness in it unless in time of need it can rise to the heroic mood.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The first of the two volumes here reprinted appears exactly as originally published in book form. The second has been somewhat rearranged; titles have been added where none originally appeared, and Chapter XV appears for the first time in collected form. The sources of the present volume are collated as follows:

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR. By Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

xv, 277 pp., 12mo, tan buckram.

There were six reprints in this country, an English edition (1915), Spanish (1915), and Italian (1916). The chapters were first published as follows:

I, III-IX, XII issued by Wheeler Syndicate in New York *Times* and other newspapers, September 27, October 4, 11, 18, November 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1914, with variant titles. II, in *Outlook*, September 23, 1914. X, in *Everybody's*, January, 1915. XI, in *Independent*, January 4, 1915. Reprinted as a separate in England under the title: *Why America Should Join the Allies*. Nearly all of these periodical articles were changed and enlarged before final publication in book form.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART. By Theodore Roosevelt. New York: George H. Doran Company [1916].

xvii, 414 pp., 8vo, red cloth.

There were several reprints in this country, an English edition (1916), and nearly complete translations into French and Spanish (1917). Chapter XV is here collected for the first time. The rest of the volume is as originally published in book form, the second preface being added from the second edition. The chapters were first published as follows:

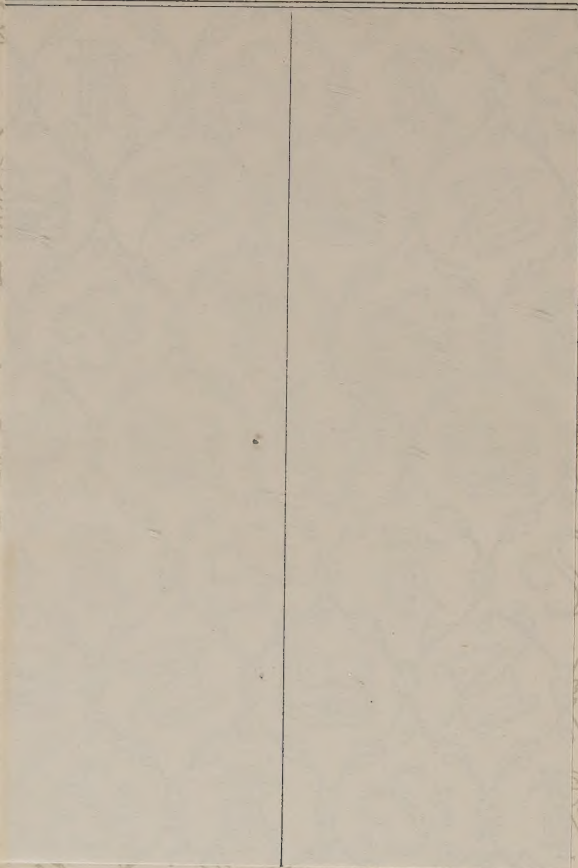
I, first published, for the most part, in first edition. II, American Sociological Society, *Papers and Proceedings*, Volume X, 1915. Chicago [1916], pp. 12-21. III, *Metropolitan*, February, 1916. IV, *Metropolitan*, January, 1916. V, *Metropolitan*, October, 1915. VI, *Metropolitan*, August, 1915. VII, *Metropolitan*, November, 1915. VIII, first part issued by Wheeler Syndicate in various newspapers, including New York *Times*, December 6, 1914; second part in *Metropolitan*, March, 1915. IX, *Metropolitan*, June, 1915. X (Appendix A of first edition), as broadside by *Metropolitan*, May 11, 1915; then by the newspapers; then in *Metropolitan*, June, 1915. XI (Appendix C of first edition), New York *Times*, December 1, 1915. XII (Appendix B of first edition), from author's manuscript, first published complete in first edition. XIII (Chapter X of first edition), *Metropolitan*, March, 1915. XIV (Chapter XI of first edition), *Metropolitan*, February, 1915. XV, address delivered at Cooper Union, November 3, 1916. XVI (Chapter XII of first edition), first published in first edition. Nearly every chapter of the first edition was revised, enlarged, and in some cases largely rewritten for final publication in book form.

R. W. G. VAIL.

MILLS COLLEGE LIBRARY

THIS BOOK DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

Books not returned on time are subject to
a fine of 10c per volume per day.





973.911

77468

R7813Ah
v.20

